9.	Avinisseri Rural Reconstruction Co-operative Society,		No. 400,	Avinisseri.
10.	Veliyanad	do.	No. 403,	Veliyanad.
11.	Methala Group Village	do.	No. 405,	Methala.
12.	Cheroor Peringavu	do.	No. 407,	Cheroor.
13.	Chirakkal	do.	No. 413,	Chirakkal.
14.	Kumbalanghy	do.	No. 414,	Kumbalanghy
15.	Machad	do.	,	Machad.
16.	Amballur	do.	,	Amballur.
17.	Pattancheri Model Panchayat Co-operative Society,		No. 416,	Pattancheri.
18.	Kodakara	do.	No. 417.	Kodakara.

No-confidence Motion against the Hon'ble Minister for Rural Development

Mr. President: Mr. L. M. Pylee will move the motion that this House has no confidence in the Hon'ble Minister for Rural Development. Before he actually starts, I would advise the honourable members not to make any unnecessary interruptions when honourable members are speaking.

Mr. L. M. Pylee *(Latin Christians-Ernakulam):* Mr. President, Sir, I beg to move the motion, of which I have given notice yesterday, that this House has no confidence in the Hon'ble Minister for Rural Development. In doing so, Sir, I may at the very outest state that personally I have only unqualified admiration for the personal qualities of the present Hon'ble Minister for Rural Development. I have been an admirer of the lofty ideals which he has been following throughout his public life, the sincerity of purpose which he has always evinced, and the zeal, the vigour and the zest with which he has been carrying the work entrusted to him. These qualities certainly would elicit the admiration of any impartial observer, and, therefore, it is not as anything relating to these that I venture to touch. Therefore let not a syllable of what I say be construed or misconstrued as an attack on the personality of this admirable man. Sir, what I propose to do by this motion is to dissect the Hon'ble Minister's policy and achievements as an administrator.

Another point that I want to make clear at the outset is, I agreed to be the sponsor of this motion primarily because of the fact that for the several months a great tension has been prevalent in the State. The atmosphere has been tense. There have been for a long time new rumours that a no-confidence motion is impending, is imminent and the people waited in anxious expectation of something that was going to come. There is, indeed, great dissatisfaction among the people with the policy, the methods and the work turned

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out by the Hon'ble Minister for Rural Development; and in this situation great tension prevails whenever the question of a no-confidence motion was mentioned. When therefore I was called upon by the party to which I belong and through that party, by another party too, and as I am also dissatisfied with the work of the Minister, I thought it incumbent upon me to sponsor this motion so that this tension that has been prevalent for such a long time might end one way or the other, and the people might know definitely what is the state of affairs. That is the primary reason that made me to consent to introduce this motion in this House.

Sir, I recall to the minds of the hon'ble members of this House the great and historic pronouncement made by His Highness our beloved Maharaja on the historic occasion of His 76th birthday, which was on the 6th January 1938. It was an announcement comparable with the historic declaration made by Mr. Montague in British Parliament in August 1917, one may even go to the extent of comparing it with the historic Proclamation of Queen Victoria in 1858, when she announced the policy of associating the people more and more with the administration. Sir, His Highness' pronouncement was followed by the implementing of it, and on the 17th June 1938 the whole State had the pleasure of seeing the new constitution inagurated. The fundamental principle of the new constitution was that large departments, which in His Highness' own words, were "more vital to the welfare of the people than any other department" were transferred to the administration of a popular Minister. That was the juncture, Sir, when there was great jubilation throughout the length and breadth of the land. Every one of us, every one in the country from the highest to the lowest hailed the reform with joy. We were proud of the beginning we had made, and when others outside the State wanted to deny, directly or indirectly, the fact of our State having been the first in the field in this respect, I ventured to defend this privilege, almost jealously, and made the fact known to the outside world through the columns of one of the leading papers in Madras that our State was the first among Indian States to introduce a measure of responsible Government. At that time, Sir, great hopes were raised on the epoch-making reforms and the intelligentsia of the State were not only jubilant over the matter, but wanted to make the new constitution a success. For the last 1 year and several months we have worked this constitution. Large departments have been transferred to the Minister and he had been administering them. May I ask the hon'ble members of this House what are the results of this administration? What is the measure of progress that has been achieved? Have we got

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anything great to boast of as a result of the great reforms that have been introduced? That is the question which I wish to ask the hon'ble members today. Yes; results have been achieved, no doubt—changes have been effected; but these are mostly of snail-speed character; they are changes of a minor character. But is there anything great, anything of any appreciable realisation of those hopes that were raised? Sir, I do not find anything to give great credit to. When any great reforms are introduced the results achieved, even in a short time, must be commensurate with the greatness of the reforms. But instead of this we hear the cry in the 200 and odd villages of this State – the cry of increasing misery, of increasing poverty, of distress that is continuing. We find that even the enthusiasm and desire for responsible Government that were prevalent at the beginning when the reforms were introduced have been dulled. What is the cause of this state of affairs? I would say that the fault lies not in the reforms. Let it not be suggested for one moment. Then where does the fault lie? It is in the manner in which the reforms have been worked, and, therefore, it was not the fault of the reforms. Nor has it been due to lack of funds. This sad state of affairs due to the lack of an intelligent and comprehensive programme based upon the fundamental principles of rural science and rural re-construction. In this respect, it has been brought to the notice of this House at the last budget session by means of a cut motion how there was a lack of a comprehensive and sound policy and programme on the part of the Minister. That discussion is still fresh in the minds of the hon'ble members. It was on the 22nd of July 1939. At that time the Minister had no programme, no definite scheme to bring forward before the House, but on the 27th July during the discussions on the allotment for the Panchayats, we find that the Hon'ble Minister was pleased to produce a scheme before the House. It is a small catalogue of certain items mixed with platitudes of a common-place character and reveals above everything else, the inability of the Minister to deal with the problems of rural development on modern lines. Just a glance at this list will show this. There is mere mention of certain common-place items, Rural Development Centre, Village Guides, Agricultural needs, marketing and so on. Among the items are also village libraries and the publication of a book on Rural Re-construction. It is clear the list is not based on proper principles. To my mind the list does not serve any purpose. Is there any mention either in the introductory speech of the list or in the list itself which would show that the fundamental aim of rural reconstruction is the raising of the standard of living of the people in the villages? There is nothing to show that. A haphazard list grouped together is produced and that is called the

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programme for reconstruction and rehabilitation of villages. Is this the kind of scheme or programme that is expected of a Minister for Rural Development? It is easy to produce a catalogue like that. And now look at its underlying principle? That principle is revealed from the speech of the Hon'ble Minister introducing the scheme and shows his utter inability to formulate a sound policy in this all-important matter. I will read just one or two sentences. In one place he has said "The needs of the villages are best known to the villagers themselves and so they have been asked to prepare a preliminary scheme." It thus appears that this is the basis upon which the Hon'ble Minister intended to proceed. He would ask the villagers, mostly ill-educated and ignorant, to prepare a scheme and on the basis of that the programme for rural reconstruction was to be made. I ask, is that the correct procedure in approaching this problem? In another place again in the same speech the Hon'ble Minister has said, "On the whole it is impossible to place definite plans and programmes to carry on rural reconstruction." He makes the definite admission that it is impossible to place definite plans and programmes of rural reconstruction. Is this not again indicative of the inability of the Hon'ble Minister to formulate proper schemes in this matter? Is his scheme based upon the right and fundamental principles of rural reconstruction? I daresay any one who has got sufficient knowledge in the rural science must admit that this sort of programme is highly defective, and there is this fundamental error, namely, the Hon'ble Minister was asking the people to prepare a scheme upon which he would proceed. The very procedure is erroneous. He admits that it is impossible to place definite plans and programmes of rural reconstruction. "Self-help should be the foundation of building up the structure of rural reconstruction," says he. A very good idea. But are you going to teach at the beginning stage of rural development that self-help is the best. It is asking a lame man that he should entirely rely on self-help. I submit that there is a stage when self-help should be made the basis of such activities. Therefore, my submission before the House is that this programme which he has formulated—and that was a few days after the discussion on the cut motion—is erroneous in its fundamentals and I reiterate that this amply demonstrates the inability of the present Minister to deal with the problem of rural reconstruction and rural development.

From this defective scheme, produced by the Minister, I may now turn to the condition of our Panchayats. The affairs of the Panchayats are giving keen dissatisfaction in most areas. Rightly or wrongly there are cries about nominations. About these nominations,

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I need not enter into details. Probably other hon'ble members who would follow me would throw more light upon the subject. But at least one instance, I should mention. That is the instance of Chennamangalam, where the nomination which the Hon'ble Minister made was not on proper lines. It would appear that that nomination was made for the purpose of seeing that a particular candidate should be elected as President. There is a wide-spread cry about these nominations. It may be argued from the side of the Hon'ble Minister that whenever any nomination is made, dissatisfaction in some quarter or other is inevitable. It is true. But still, is there not a limit for that? And there is also an interesting case that has come up in the Court of the District Munsiff of Trichur—the case of a lady member who had not completed her 25th year and was nominated to be the member of the Panchayat. I presume that the reason given by the Hon'ble Minister was that she had passed 24 years and was in her 25th year and therefore she was considered to have attained the age for being nominated to the Panchayat. I fail to see that 24 and a fraction is equal to 25. If I owe Rs. 25 to the Hon'ble Minister and if I pay to him Rs. 24 and one pie, will he be prepared to say that his Rs. 25 has been paid? Perhaps he may be prepared to accept it. But will anybody else be prepared to do so?

Mr. A. B. Salem *(Mattancheri):* In these days of non-payment of debts, one must be glad to accept it.

Mr. L. M. Pylee *(Latin Christians-Ernakulam):* One need not be a Shylock, Sir, to refuse to accept such a thing *(Laughter)*. Any reasonable man will say, "no" to such an offer. I am quite aware that in the rules about Panchayat nominations, it is stated in one place, those who have "completed" 25 years of age, while in another place, it is said a person who is 25 years of age. But I would submit that in drafting, in the case of so many legal enactments identical phrases and identical wordings are not uniformly followed. In one place the word "will" may be used and in another place the word "would" may be used. Are we going to give much importance to such verbal differences, which have no particular purpose in point? $24\frac{1}{4}$ cannot be 25. In one place the legislature has said that the candidate must have completed 25 years and in another place it is said that the candidate should be 25 years of age. Why should the Hon'ble Minister presume that the intention of the Legislature is that there must be difference in the meaning of the two kinds of wordings? The District Munsiff of Trichur has given the verdict that $24\frac{1}{4}$ or 24 and a fraction is not 25. I have got a copy of the judgment of the Munsiff.

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Mr. P. Govinda Menon *(Mulakunnathukavu):* Is it a certified copy?

Mr. L. M. Pylee *(Latin Christians-Ernakulam):* No. But it is a true copy. The District Munsiff has said that the procedure of the Minister was murdering the King's language. I do not think that the matter could have left any doubt in the mind of any reasonable man. Such a nomination shows that it was not a proper nomination. Even a man in the street will understand this position. Therefore, nominating a person who had not completed 25 years of age was certainly a wrong and erroneous procedure. My contention is supported by the judgment of the District Munsiff. These are a few of the matters with regard to village Panchayats. But one thing I have seen on which I wish to make an observation. I am not a member of any Panchayat and I am not contesting in Panchayat, and I do not hope to stand for any Panchayat election. I am not personally interested in these Panchayats. From unbiassed observation, therefore, I find that the condition of the Panchayats is deteriorating. There is great disunion and more strife in them than before. The Hon'ble Minister in a very interesting article published some time back in the *Madras Mail* characterises the condition of our Panchayats as something rotten. I ask the Hon'ble Minister, what has he done to tackle the problem? He may have done something. But that is not commensurate with the seriousness of the situation. In my humble opinion, there has been a gross failure on the part of the Hon'ble Minister in matters relating to the Panchayats.

One or two matters more I would like further to bring to the notice of this House. It is the question of some of the vital needs of the people in our villages. We find that the desire of His Highness the Maharaja in granting the constitutional reforms was expressed in the announcement made on the historic occasion of His Highness' 76th birthday. In that announcement occurs like a gem the whole basis of his policy. What is that basis? I read from the announcement.—"The welfare of the vast masses of the rural population has been our constant care....." If that great aim is to be translated into action by a Minister on whom is incumbent the duty to carry out the wishes of our beloved and revered Ruler, how can the Minister show that amount of apathy which he has been showing in the matter of water-supply particularly in the littoral areas? The cry of the people in this respect has been a vain cry. I moved a resolution on the floor of this House relating to the question of water-supply and the elected members of this House unanimously voted in favour of my resolution. Government declined to accept the resolution. But the Government at the same time was

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magnanimous enough to appoint a committee to go into this question and suggest solutions. At the last budget session the Hon'ble Minister promised that certain important steps were going to be taken. He said that tanks were going to be constructed in certain places of littoral tracts from which water would be distributed by pipe-lines. He said that tube wells were going to be made, and so on. A faint beginning was, no doubt, made in that direction. It was last year on the first of April that the Hon'ble Minister at my request visited the littoral tracts. He saw the great hardship the people were undergoing there, not only the hardship that was evident, but also the consequences of that hardship. He saw these things for himself, on April fool's day, 1939. Another first of April has passed. What has been achieved? You, hon'ble members are seated here. If you could at least in imagination fly across these backwaters we see in front of us and visit those littoral tracts, you will find at this moment deep pits, 10 to 12 feet deep, being dug by children and women for taking water—deep pits on the sea-shore. That water will remain fresh only for an hour or two and after an hour or two these women sitting there in the sun will have to again dig and dig other pits and gather water, with cocoanut shells. This is no exaggeration.

Dr. A. R. Menon *(Minister for Rural Development):* The pits will have to be dug. Blame Providence for it.

Mr. L. M. Pylee *(Latin Christians-Ernakulam):* Then why do we want a Minister here? Surely tanks and wells cannot be dug by Providence. I bring this sad state of affairs before this House, because I know that persons in authority and particularly the Hon'ble Minister have not understood the seriousness of the distress in littoral areas. If the welfare of the toiling masses is the cherished desire of His Highness the Maharaja, I would ask, how is this question so much neglected? It is not enough if you do some little thing. We want more than that. If we deserve the name of an enlightened legislature, if the Hon'ble Minister discharges that sense of responsibility that he has got in this matter, we should have occasion to see this great problem solved. There is no use of saying "there is no means. We cannot do anything. Simply blame Providence."

A question like that again, I would refer to. It is the question of the village of Vallarpadam, which was once a beautiful spot, like an emerald island in the backwaters. That was so a few years ago. Will the hon'ble members care to see that this island has now become a Dead-Sea like place, because of letting in salt water, which will be useful only for prawn-fishing purposes? Everything

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relating to agriculture has suffered by that. The people of that part are crying and crying in this matter. Surely agriculture is not a thing that must be sacrificed for prawn-fishing. Some rich men may be benefitted by fishing, and some poor people may be drawn by the rich men by promise of remuneration. But what about agriculture in such a place? That island is materially economically deteriorating and the people are suffering from want of water owing to the introduction of prawn-fishing. Certain portions are utilised for prawn-fishing. Surely it is a loss to the Government, if it is discontinued. But is that the correct policy? In this connection I will again draw the attention of the hon'ble members to an important pronouncement made by His Highness. May I read one sentence in regard to this matter. When His Highness the Maharaja proposed the toast to Their Excellencies the Viceroy and the Vicereine during their visit, His Highness stated.—"The improvement of agriculture in order to increase the prosperity of the toiling masses and the political evolution of the country are after all two outstanding problems of our country." From that, one thing is significant. His Highness does not say that the improvement of prawn-fishing is important. *(Laughter)* He says "the improvement of agriculture", and, mind you, he puts it as the first thing even before the problem of political evolution. If that is the policy adumbrated by His Highness to be followed by His Government, should we care for a few hundred rupees that will come to the State coffers by prawn-fishing, and should we not help agriculture and see that Vallarpadam becomes the home of prosperous agricultural people.

There is one more thing that I wish to bring to the attention of this House. Yesterday, we had the discussion over a measure of far-reaching importance, *viz.* the Town Councils Bill. It was a measure vehemently opposed by the progressive Party of this House.

Dr. A. R. Menon *(Minister for Rural Development):* And what about your party?

Mr. L. M. Pylee *(Latin Christians-Ernakulam):* Some of us opposed it. I have myself opposed it in the beginning. Some of our party opposed and some supported. When the Town Councils Bill was introduced, it was plain from the Hon'ble Minister's statement that he introduced it without any consideration for his party, without any reference to his party. This method of introducing a Bill by a popular Minister, who is Minister because he is the leader of his party, I cannot understand. That procedure cannot be correct. I can understand it if there were no party system in our Government. When there is the party system, and the principle of the party

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system is taken as the basis of Parliamentary Government, which proposition is now disputed in certain quarters, but still holds good in political theory and political practice, the action of the Minister was not proper.

Mr. E. Ikkanda Warriar *(Cheruthuruthi):* Why these crocodile tears for the party?

Mr. L. M. Pylee *(Latin Christians-Ernakulam):* I am not shedding crocodile tears nor humam tears. I am sorry that my hon'ble friend, Mr. Ikkanda Warriar thinks that there is a crocodile in this House as his colleague *(Laughter)*. I am stating that there has been a transgression of one of the fundamental principles of the Parliamentary procedure. The question is that such sort of a convention should not be established. Look into the conventions established in better parliamentary institution, in more enlightened countries. Do you mean to say that a popular Minister belonging to a party will introduce a measure of far-reaching importance without reference to his party? That is the thing. I am neither a crocodile nor am I shedding tears. You find that many have cried hoarse over this Bill. As I mentioned at the introduction of the Bill, there will be pigmy municipalities. Such pigmy municipalities would contain of-course pigmy politicians. When the implications of the Bill became clear and it was perceived that it was not going to be conducive to the welfare of the masses and that it will have its adverse repercussions on the prosperity of the people, some of those who understood it, created the progressive party and thought it well to oppose the measure. In connection with that Bill certain members of the Minister's own party resigned from his party as is seen from their own statements. In this affair the Minister acted against the accepted principles of democracy.

Sir, I once more refer to the scheme which the hon'ble member put forward at the last budget session. I come back to it in order to ask how far these items have been carried out. How far have the achievements been a success? Yes, attempts have been made on the lines mentioned there. But are these any appreciable attempts? Have there been success in this respect? Have rural development associations been a success in the villages? In how many places these associations have been successful? What about the question of the village libraries? Has sufficient progress been made in the case of these? If it has not proved a success, has the Minister taken measures to modify the scheme?

Then again, it was proposed to print a book on rural reconstruction. May I know from the Minister whether the author has been born yet? So many months have elapsed and what has he done

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in this matter? Therefore, in all these matters, the impression that is created in the mind of any one who goes into the details in respect of the activities that are seen, in respect of the steps that have been taken so far, the charge remains that these are not enough. This is not the pace and the quantum of the progress envisaged when the reforms were introduced. Something greater was expected. Even though expectations cannot always be fulfilled, a Minister, a popular Minister must be able to show a reasonable quantity of work commensurate with the money spent upon it. Our magnanimous Government had allotted 1 lakh of rupees this year. Is this the pace in which that money should be spent? Yes, exhaust the whole one lakh and ask for more if that is not sufficient. The Diwan has promised to give you as much money as you require. Look at the conditions prevailing in Mysore State in the matter of rural development. We need not go to America. Can we not take lessons from places outside the State? The scheme that was placed before the House, any expert in rural reconstruction will decry and say that it is not the correct type of programme. This being so, these developments that we have seen in the villages have not been sufficient. The old conditions are still prevalent,and in many places these are becoming worse and worse. We want that these villages should be considerably improved. That is the main purpose of the reforms and of the constitution itself. We want the Minister to rise above the currents and cross-currents that prevail. There is no use of giving promises to every one. The popular Minister must listen to representations from all parties. But he must decide for himself. There is no use of simply promising things to one party, promising things to another party and going on in a policy of drift. That is the kind of ministry that we have. We want a ministry that will not be drifting and who will have a consistent policy to take steady steps. After all, why do we want experts for these purposes? We want experts in certain cases. The policy and actions of the Minister must conform to the fundamental aim of His Highness, our Beloved Maharaja, so that the lot of the toiling masses might be improved. The lot of agriculture must be improved. The standard of living of the people must be improved. To these the policy must be directed. There is no use of saying we cannot follow a definite plan. A consistent and constructive policy is the basis of all plans and that is what the Hon'ble Minister lacks. When in British India an important Planning Committee is sitting and planning, what is the plan that we have got? Has the hon'ble member, who knows the needs of the villages, an intelligent and intelligible plan of rural reconstruction? It is not to be done in a year or two. The plan must spread over a number of years. If such a plan had been made by him and carried out even partially we could have thought that the

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aims of the constitution have been realised to an appreciable extent. But this has not been the case. Sir, I do not wish to take more time of the House. I have placed the motion before the House and once more I would appeal to the hon'ble members to support the motion.

Mr. K. S. Panicker *(Ezhuvas-Mukundapuram):* I beg to second it.

Mr. President : I think that a time may be fixed for individual members to speak, because the leaders of parties will have to speak about their attitude. I would advise hon'ble members to confine their speeches to 15 minutes.

Mr. T. V. Subramania Ayyar *(Nemmara):* Mr. President, Sir, the motion before the House is well known ; that is one questioning the confidence of this House in the present Hon'ble Minister for Rural Development. So far as some of the issues raised by the hon'ble mover are concerned, though they are based on facts which we admit to be true, yet we consider that they do not constitute sufficient grounds to justify a serious motion like one of no-confidence.

As regards the Town Councils Bill it goes without saying that we stoutly opposed the Bill all through and our position even now is that we are against it.

In considering the question about the confidence of this House in the Minister several questions arose and several questions had to be given the most weighty consideration possible. In a motion of this kind, it is imperative that circumstances not of the ordinary kind but very strong circumstances must influence the decision to be taken. After very mature consideration about the motion, we have come to the conclusion that we are not in a position to support it and that we will be remaining neutral. This is all I wish to state at this stage to make the position of our party clear. I do not wish to add anything more because no useful purpose will be served.

Mr. A. B. Salem *(Mattancheri):* This is the first constitutional step that has been initiated in this Council regarding the control of a responsible Minister. We have been hearing of this no-confidence motion for some time, and now it has come. We have had the immediate repudiation of it by one party. As regards our party we can always look after ourselves and we need no advocate from any of the members of the other party regarding the support we give to our Minister. I may tell the hon'ble mover of this resolution to follow the very good example that we have set for him. When we have a popular Minister who commands our confidence and he brings a measure whether with or without consultation of the party to which he belongs and we find that that measure is good,

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what is the duty of the party? The duty of the party is to adopt it and support the Minister. If this party was of opinion that the Town Councils Bill which was made a plank in the attack was one which was not conducive to the interests of the toiling masses in the country we would have certainly asked him to drop it and he would have been the first to drop it. But we were convinced that it is a most useful measure which goes with responsibility and we were therefore glad to support it, and it is not open to any member who is not of the party to have indulged in an attack upon the cessation of a few members from the party whose behaviour is better known to the party and it is not my propose here to divulge that.

I now come *seriatim* to the charges that have been made against the Hon'ble Minister. I am glad that admiration of his personal qualities has been set forth as the preface for this motion; and dissatisfaction regarding the work is the real charge. The historic pronouncement of His Highness to associate with the Government his people more and more has been more than once referred to and the transfer of 8 departments to a responsible Minister has been set forth and questions have been asked regarding the results of the progress of the work entrusted to the Hon'ble Minister. If my colleague, the mover, expects that rural reconstruction of Cochin should take place within one year or within 5 years, I would say, he would stand solely disappointed. Rural reconstruction of the country does not depend upon the Minister. It depends upon the progress, the enthusiasm, the hard work and the intelligence that the men in the country bring to bear on the subject. The Rural Development Minister can at the most give a helping hand towards progress. It is for the people to co-operate and place definite ideas before the Rural Development Minister and the Rural Development Minister himself also may have his own ideas and these ideas should be compared, should be conceived well and should be prepared and executed differently in different localities. If the people expect that the Minister should initiate and should carry out rural reconstruction throughout Cochin and that within the period of the time that he took charge to this day it should have been done, then, I think, he is crying for the moon. What are the hopes that have been realised in the 280 and odd villages? Where does the fault lie? The fault lies, I think, with the hon'ble members who think that the rural parts which they represent are not reconstructed. Has there been a single word spoken here regarding any constructive work suggested by any hon'ble member who represents his constituency—that he has given such and such reconstruction ideas to the Minister? Has there been a single charge that the Minister has turned down any

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such good suggestion that has been placed before him by any member who represents a number of villages or any village? There is no such charge at all, and simply to indulge in platitudes that a millinium has not been brought in the history of Cochin by placing a lakh of rupees in the Minister takes us no where. Lack of an intelligent programme and a comprehensive and a sound policy is another charge. What is the policy that is to be followed? After all the Minister has been perhaps a year and few months in charge. One has to conceive a thing. Even if a child is conceived, it takes 10 months to come out and the child must grow to maturity and that will take 18 years. And my hon'ble friend wants the whole of the rural reconstruction work in Cochin to be finished in one year! I think it will be only an abortive idea to say the least of it. *(Laughter)*

A catalogue of schemes regarding the rural centre, marketing, etc., was read. All these, we know, are going on all over the country, all over India and everywhere. The same is the condition everywhere. Tangible results are very difficult in these matters to be pointed out. The needs of the villagers are best known to themselves and they will prepare a definite scheme and self-help is the best, said the Minister. That is another charge. Therefore the conclusion is the inability to formulate a rural reconstruction scheme on the part of the Minister! Later on towards the end my friend contradicted himself and said that the Planning Committee and the Minister know the needs of the villagers. I do not know how to reconcile all these contradictory statements. But nevertheless let us see. Is not self-help the best help? The hon'ble mover must have read the book on self-help being a professor in a College and if people cannot help themselves they will never be helped by others. No country can rise to its full stature unless the country is dependent on self-help. A man who is spoon-fed and looked after cannot rise to be as stalwart a man as one who relies on self-help could do. That is an axiom and if my learned friend wants an example of it I would give him an example. You go to Palestine, a small country almost the size of Travancore but with only as big a population as in Cochin, and this country, 20 years ago was considered only as a Holy Land where people could go on a pilgrimage. Not a single article was exported from that country. Not a single agricultural produce was there fit to be exported. The people were starving. The place was deserted and agriculture was not enough to support the people there. From that condition, when the self-helping people from middle Europe fleeing from persecution without any money in their hands went into that country, what is the condition today? The condition today is, that by self-help in the agricultural colonies of Palestine the people there export over 6 million boxes of oranges for the pleasure-

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loving people of the world! Some of these oranges come even to Cochin along with the beautiful health-giving citrus fruits. Now that is an example for the world to copy. Therefore it is, that you find an expression from Mr. Malcolm MacDonald, the Secretary for the Colonies, saying that these wonderful people have turned the land into something which we could not even imagine.

Mr. President: Do you plead for a Jewish Minister in Cochin? *(Laughter).*

Mr. A. B. Salem *(Mattancheri):* Yes, Sir. If you have one in Cochin such wonderful things will take place here. I give that assurance. But the point that I want to make out is that the people in Cochin as a rule, as far as I know, are people who love ease and comfort and sleep. I have seen it myself amidst the Valan Classes that are working in the backwaters. They work for a few hours and then bask in the sun, and rest under the tree. What is the kind or system of agriculture we practice here? Your agriculture is merely scraping the soil. You have no intensive agriculture yet. You must try to do that. I am telling you that it is all to be done by Mr. Ayyappan's people.

Mr. K. Ayyappan *(Ezhuvas-Kanayannur):* And it is Mr. Salem's people who should enjoy what we would get from our toil. *(Laughter).*

Mr. A. B. Salem *(Mattancheri):* Therefore there is no absence of fundamental principle on the part of the Minister. What I say is these are the defects in our character of work which should be remedied. For that we must look not to the Minister but to the educational policy of the country, and for that the Minister is not responsible. Therefore I would say that agricultural improvements and all that, are things which will come in good time.

What is the next point in the charge? The affairs of the Panchayats. One charge is that one nomination was made with the purpose that a President should be elected. I do not know the ins and outs, but certainly every nominated member also has a right to vote for the President. Yesterday there was an attempt in this Council to table the idea that nominated Panchayatdars should not be allowed to vote in the election of the President. There must be something behind it which I do not know.

What is the next case? The case that a lady under 25 was nominated. I think it was very wrong on the part of the mover to bring this point when he knows perfectly well that a Munsiff's word is not a final word in the matter, and I think I heard an explanation from the Minister that he referred the matter to the law officers of

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Government and the law officer was of opinion that if a person is past 24, he can be stated to be in the 25th year, and since the law does not lay down that a person should *complete* 25 years, it was held by legal opinion that 25th year meant the period after 24 years of age. Therefore that was a most *bona fide* action on the part of the Minister supported by legal opinion of the State and I think that *bona fide* should not have been questioned. Under such circumstances that case also fails.

What is the condition of the Panchayats? It is stated that they are deteriorating. I question that, I have also gone to many Panchayats along with the Minister and even to many of those places where even superior officers drawing 100 rupees and above have not gone. It was immense trouble to go to these places and there were difficulties on the road. In spite of all that we went to many of the outlying places to know the needs on the spot to see whether they can be rectified, and I may say that all these needs have been catalogued and all those which could be met have been met. If the Minister has done all that and if you want to pull him down for not doing all those things straight-a-way I say that it is a charge which does not hold any matter.

Then the member referred to the vital needs of the people, their welfare, etc. These are all platitudes. Everyone is always working for the toiling masses, but everyone is working for himself also, and the toiling classes also work for themselves.

Then with regard to water supply. It is a very big question. When we heard the hon'ble member, we thought that it could be solved immediately. Water is needed and water is supplied. I have heard that there was a *yidukudukudukka* in local mythology. Whatever you want you will get from it, if you take it in hand and ask for your needs. If that is available at present, water can be supplied, by the Minister immediately he wants to do so. Before he gets such an instrument it is not possible to supply water to all these places, although all efforts must be made to give drinking water. The member also referred to the fact that women are digging for water. I have not seen them.

Mr. L. M. Pylee *(Latin Christians-Ernakulam):* I have seen.

Mr. A. B. Salem *(Mattancheri):* I am glad. But whether you were fooled or not I do not know. Little by little we are solving the problem. We went to the littoral tracts where a few wells have already been sunk. An expert has been brought down and he is finding out spots where wells can be sunk. Experiments are going on. These experiments cannot be done in a day. You

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must see whether you can get water after the monsoon in the hot season. When the Minister is actually doing these things to supply water, to bring such charges of no-confidence in the Minister who is personally looking into the needs of the people, it is below the dignity of an Hon'ble Member of this House.

Then with regard to Vallarpadam. I know the Advocate-General advocated for Vallarpadam. I went along with the Diwan Peishkar and two other members, the Hon'ble Member for Cranganur and some others in a select committee appointed for the Fisheries Amendment Bill. We were not satisfied by sitting in the office, and we went through all those places. The Diwan Peishkar actually pointed out the places. To say that agriculture is sacrificed for prawn fishing is a most astounding and baseless charge. These places are more suitable for prawn culture than agriculture. Who are the people that are getting prawns? Are they not the toiling masses of the country? Are they not entitled to live? I cannot find any connection with the water supply problem and prawn cultivation. Each place must be put to the best use to which nature has fitted it. If a place is suited for prawn culture, let them do prawn culture there. If it is suitable for agriculture, let them do that there. It is not right to say that agriculture is sacrificed for prawn culture because Government get a little money. I think this is the ordinary way politicians sometimes indulge to beat the Government with any stick they get, and what has the Minister to do with it? Whether people cultivate prawns there or they do agriculture, it is left to their sweet will and pleasure. The Minister cannot go there and ask the people to stop prawn fishing and take to agriculture. If it was open to the Minister to do so then the charge is perfectly in order. Since it is not open to the Minister to do so, the charge fails.

I am sorry that the hon'ble member in dealing with the Town Councils Bill affair stated that it is not a party measure. I don't think an answer is necessary to that charge. The charge is absolutely baseless. I think scant courtesy has been shown to the party by some of the members from the hon'ble member's party who seconded, because the party supported the Bill. I do not wish to speak anything more on this.

As regards village libraries, scarcely a year has passed since the scheme has been brought into force. Is it time enough to make a judgment upon the working of the village libraries? It is common knowledge in the country that the village libraries are made use of in a particular way. We had many questions tabled here and we have

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been hearing that money has been spent before in the name of libraries, for the purpose of books, but without finding any books on the shelf of the library. Therefore, what has the Minister done? He has made it a rule that if you want books you must give a list and the committee will get the books and actually supply them. Even that is resented! There are many things behind the scene which we are not able to fathom easily. That is also made a charge. There are so many difficulties. When we have a popular Minister who moves with the people and who is formulating excellent schemes by which the money allotted for a particular purpose goes for that purpose and nothing else, and if such a Minister, who has made village libraries one of his plans, is proposed to be pulled down I think it is not a proper thing.

Then with regard to the snail's pace of reforms. We have always heard the story of the rabbit and the tortoise. When the race is run it is not the rabbit that wins, but it is the steady tortoise that wins. I say that in Government matters to rush any Government is not proper, and to rush a responsible Minister is certainly wrong. We must go slowly and hasten slowly. *Festina Lente* should be the moto. My friend hastens suddenly. He wants to rise like a rocket and come down like a stone. Let us go steadily and let us work surely and steadily. That should be the policy. We fully approve the policy of the Minister. We think the Minister has been moving a little more rapidly than we would like him to. He has put into operation the coir scheme which makes poor people living in the villages get more money which was going to the middlemen before this. Why not you speak about these things? Although I am a pessimist in that matter, I have been co-operating as much as I can in order that his scheme may fructify for the sake of the poor people. Therefore let us be not moved by the comparison of the snail.

One other charge is that the Minister makes promises. I do not know whether he ever makes any promise. As far as I know—and I know him well enough for the last 15 years and we have been colleagues here from the very first Council—I do not know whether he has ever made a promise. If he has ever made he has kept it, and I can say one thing that on a little difference he would not break his promise and desert his friends. We would stand together for weal or woe, and consistency of policy is required to a great extent in politics. Promises made have always been kept. The hon'ble member has been saying that promises have been made right and left and they have all been broken. It is not right for making such a sweeping statement and not give a single example. We have

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no complaint against the Minister and we have not heard any reasonable complaint from the other party. Therefore we would vote down the motion.

Mr. M.K. Devassy *(Adur):* Our leader has stated that our party will remain neutral. I only wish to explain some of the reasons which have induced us to remain neutral, and without giving an explanation to this House, we may be misunderstood especially so since this party had risen up in their places yesterday for the admission of this motion. I may state from the very outset that our neutrality does not for a moment mean our sympathy with the Minister. It also does not mean our hostility towards the mover's party. It only means that we have decided to take a stand in this matter on purely constitutional and political issues and the moment we found that those issues could not be respected, we could not help but take up this attitude. *(Hear, hear).* The only issue on which our party had agreed to support the no-confidence motion was the Town Councils Bill that was being introduced by the Minister. It was a measure which the Progressive Party could not approve of, and which we believed to be detrimental to the country's interest and to defeat which this party would do anything. This idea of making it impossible for the Minister to bring into effect a measure which we thought to be hostile to the country's interests, that idea could be implemented only by a coalition between this party and the State Congress party. The primary condition on which the propesal for a coalition was based was that the State Congress party will agree with us in opposing this measure and in proving to the country that the measure that the Minister is introducing has not the support of the Council, or at any rate the majority of the elected members of this House. It was a sudden shock to us yesterday that when the motion for the introduction of the Bill was placed before the House and came for voting, fortunately or unfortunately, deliberately or not, it so happened that some of the members of the State Congress party supported it and some remained neutral, and we did not get the expected support for the opposition. We think we will not be justified in taking any part in this motion, as long as our issue could not be respected by the party with whom we wanted a coalition. I wish also to make it plain that our party was not formed to wreak any personal vengeance. Our party has been formed with the object of fighting for the principle we stand for and in doing so we are prepared to face any consequences. I do not wish to hide in this connection that this stand of neutrality which we are taking may render us neither fish nor flesh. It may so happen that we have incurred the hostility of the ministerial party and it may so happen that we may

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incur the hostility of the State Congress party. But hostilities apart, difficulties apart, we wish to make it plain that so long as our convictions in this matter stand, we wish to stand by those convictions and proceed on them. *(Hear hear).* Let not the Minister for a moment understand that the neutrality we are taking in this case is tantamount to our reversal of our policy, with regard to the Town Councils Bill or our sympathy with him. Let him understand that our stand in this connection is the result of an impossibility on our part to carry into effect the policy for which we are standing and for which we are fighting. We were expecting that the motion which has received such a tremendous opposition and which stood a discussion for a day and a half would receive an opposition on the part of the State Congress party with whom we had thought of a coalition. With very great regret I have to state that our expectations failed. We think that when those expectations failed at the very start and when our political aim in the matter of preventing this Bill from coming to the statute book could not be carried out, it would be futile in the interests of the stability of the constitution to have anything to do with this motion any more. We thought that if in this fundamental point we could not begin fairly with co-operation of ideas, the idea of a coalition for the purpose of a stable ministry in case our no-confidence motion would be successful would be a failure. Therefore, I wish to make it plain that our stand of neutrality is based upon our love for the political issue and our love for the stability of our constitution and for avoiding a coalition which had not the certainty of a stability. I do not wish to add anything more. I do not wish to insinuate anybody. This stand we have taken after mature deliberation has cost us even the strength of our party. My head is almost reeling when I speak about that unhappy consequence. But I want only to assure this House that whatever may be the consequences, even to the last solitary member of our party, we would see that our aim is preserved.

Mr. President: I do not think it necessary on the part of any member who stood up when leave for bringing in the motion was granted, to offer any explanation at all. I think I can help this Council by enabling them to understand the implication of this convention. The mere fact that a member stands in support of a motion for leave being granted to move a no-confidence motion does not in the least indicate the attitude of that member to the motion *(Hear, hear).* It may be that even a supporter of the Minister can stand up and it is right that it should be so. It has been repeatedly stated and I have adverted on very many occasions that the very essence of parliamentary democracy is the opportunity for free and full discussion, and in a legislature where a majority party necessarily has

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to control the affairs, it is the duty of the majority party to see that the minority, whenever they want, get opportunities for discussion. It is only in legislatures where the minority is denied this right that you find obstacles coming up in the healthy working of parliamentary democracy. It is quite possible that in a House like this even 10 members may feel that they have got a good case against the Ministry. If they are given an opportunity, they may be able to convince the House that the actions of the Minister are detrimental to the interests of the people of the State. If that minority feels in that way, it is the duty of the members of the House to see that the minority gets a chance, and members who stand in support of the motion do so simply to provide that opportunity. It may be noted that the mere fact that they have stood up does not in the least indicate their sympathy for or against the motion.

*മിസ്റ്റർ ടി. കെ. നായർ: മിസ്റ്റർ പ്രസിഡൻറ്, സർ, ആദ്യത്തിൽ തന്നെ ഈ അവിശ്വാസപ്രമേയംകൊണ്ട് ഈ കക്ഷിക്ക് ബഹുമാനപ്പെട്ട മന്ത്രിയുടെ ഭരണത്തെ സംബന്ധിച്ചുള്ള അഭിപ്രായം ഇന്നതാണെന്ന് ഈ നിയമസഭയിൽ രേഖപ്പെടുത്തുവാൻ അവസരം കിട്ടുന്നതിനുള്ള സൌകര്യമുണ്ടാക്കിത്തന്ന പ്രൊഗ്രസീവ് പാർട്ടി അംഗങ്ങളോട് നന്ദി പറഞ്ഞുകൊള്ളുന്നു. അല്പക്ഷനവർകൾ ഇപ്പോൾ പ്രസ്താവിച്ചതുപോലെ ഇന്നലെ ഈ നിയമസഭയിലെ ചില സാമാജികന്മാർ മുഴുനേരവുനിന്ന് ഈ പ്രമേയം അവതരിപ്പിക്കുവാൻ അവസരം തന്നതോടുകൂടി ആ ചില അംഗങ്ങളും ഈ പ്രമേയത്തിനനുകൂലികളാണെന്ന ഞങ്ങളാരും വിശ്വസിച്ചിട്ടില്ല. അതാണ് ഞാൻ ആദ്യംതന്നെ പറഞ്ഞത് ഇതു് അവതരിപ്പിക്കുന്നതിനു് അവസരം കിട്ടുവാനായിട്ട് സഹായിച്ചതിനു് അവരോടു നന്ദി പറഞ്ഞുകൊള്ളുന്നു എന്നു്. ഞങ്ങൾ ൻ അംഗങ്ങൾ മാത്രമേ സ്റ്റേറ കോൺഗ്രസ്സ് പാർട്ടിയിലുള്ളൂ. ഈ ൻ അംഗങ്ങൾമാത്രം വിചാരിച്ചാൽ ഒരു അവിശ്വാസപ്രമേയം ഒരു കാലത്തും ഇവിടെ അവതരിപ്പിക്കുവാൻ സാധിക്കുകയില്ല. ഞങ്ങൾക്കു മന്ത്രിയവർകളുടെ ഭരണത്തെ സംബന്ധിച്ചുള്ള ആ അഭിപ്രായങ്ങളെ തുറന്നുപറയുവാൻ ഒരവസരം ഞങ്ങൾ വിചാരിച്ചാൽ ഒരിക്കലും കിട്ടുകയില്ല. അല്പക്ഷൻ പറഞ്ഞതുപോലെ മന്ത്രിയുടെ കക്ഷിയിൽപെട്ട അംഗങ്ങൾതന്നെ ഇന്നലെ ഞങ്ങൾക്കു് അവസരം തന്നതുപോലെ മേലിലും അവസരം തരണമെന്നു് ഞങ്ങൾ അവരോടു് അപേക്ഷിച്ചുകൊള്ളുന്നു. ഒരു അവിശ്വാസപ്രമേയം അവതരിപ്പിക്കുന്നതോടുകൂടി ആ അവിശ്വാസപ്രമേയം അവതരിപ്പിക്കുന്ന കക്ഷിയോടു് ഭരണകക്ഷിക്കു് ഒരിക്കലും ശത്രുതയുണ്ടാകുന്നതല്ലെന്നും ഞാൻ അപേക്ഷിക്കുന്നു.

അവിശ്വാസപ്രമേയം രണ്ടുതരത്തിൽ അവതരിപ്പിക്കുവാൻ സാധിക്കുമെന്നാണു് ഞാൻ വിചാരിക്കുന്നതു്. ഇന്നലെ ഞങ്ങൾ ഇവിടെ അവതരിപ്പിച്ച പ്രമേയം ഭൂരിപക്ഷമായിട്ട കണക്കാക്കിയാണു് അവതരിപ്പിച്ചിട്ടുള്ളതെന്നു ഞാൻ നിങ്ങളോടു് തുറന്നുപറഞ്ഞുകൊള്ളുന്നു. എന്നാൽ ഇതു് ഈ തരത്തിലായിത്തീരുവാൻ ഇടയായതിനു ഞങ്ങളുടെ മാന്യസ്നേഹിതൻ പറഞ്ഞ

*Speech not corrected by the hon'ble member.

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കാരണങ്ങളിൽനിന്നു ഞാൻ ഇവിടെ പറഞ്ഞു. മനസ്സിലാക്കാം. ഈ അവിശ്വാസപ്രമേയംകൊണ്ടു് ഞങ്ങൾ ഇന്നേവരെ ധരിച്ചുമാതിരിയല്ല മന്ത്രിയുടെ ഭരണം എന്നു് ഞങ്ങളേയും കൊച്ചിരാജ്യത്തു മുഴുവനുമുള്ള ജനങ്ങളേയും ബോദ്ധ്യപ്പെടുത്തേണ്ട ചുമതല മന്ത്രിക്കും മന്ത്രിയുടെ കക്ഷിക്കുമുണ്ടു്. എന്നാൽ ആ ചുമതല നിർവ്വഹിക്കുവാനുള്ള അവസരം ഞങ്ങൾക്കുണ്ടാക്കിത്തന്നതിനു് വാസ്തവത്തിൽ മന്ത്രികക്ഷിക്കു് വളരെ സന്തോഷമാണു് ഉണ്ടാകേണ്ടതു്. ഈ നിയമസഭയിലുള്ള അംഗങ്ങളേക്കാൾ എത്രയെത്രയോ ശ്രേഷ്ഠന്തിയും, അതിന്റെ ഗുണദോഷങ്ങളെന്താണെന്നു് ആരാഞ്ഞറിയുവാനുള്ള ആവേശവും കൊച്ചിരാജ്യത്തെ പൊതുജനങ്ങൾക്കു് എത്രത്തോളമുണ്ടെന്നു് ഗ്യാലറി നോക്കിയാൽ അറിയാവുന്നതാണു്. ഇത്തരത്തിൽ ഒരു പൊതുബോധമുണ്ടാക്കുവാൻകൂടി അവിശ്വാസപ്രമേയം നല്ലതാണെന്നു ഞാൻ വിചാരിക്കുന്നു. എന്നാൽ എപ്പോഴും ആ പൊതുബോധമുണ്ടാക്കണമെന്നു് ആഗ്രഹിക്കുന്ന കക്ഷിക്കാരല്ല ഞങ്ങൾ. ഈ ഭരണപരിഷ്കാരം നടപ്പിൽവരുത്തിയ ഈ ദിവാൻജിയവർകൾ ഇവിടെയിരിക്കുന്ന കാലത്തുതന്നെ അതിന്റെ സദ്ഫലങ്ങളും അദ്ദേഹം മുഖാന്തിരം നടത്തി ഇവിടെ കൺവെൻഷൻ കിട്ടണമെന്നുള്ള വിചാരക്കാരനാണു് ഞാൻ. ഭരണപരിഷ്കാരം പ്രഖ്യാപനം ചെയ്ത ഉടനെ ഗവണ്മെണ്ടിൽനിന്നു നോമിനേറ്റുചെയ്ത കക്ഷി ഏതു തരത്തിൽ നില്ക്കുമെന്നുള്ള ഒരു പരിഭ്രമം ജനങ്ങളുടെയിടയിൽ ഉണ്ടായിരുന്നു. അതുകൊണ്ടായിരുന്നു ആദ്യത്തെ മന്ത്രിയുടെ പ്രഖ്യാപനം കഴിഞ്ഞയുടനെ അതിനെ സെമഹാർട്ടമായി സ്വീകരിക്കുവാൻ തടസ്ഥമുണ്ടായിരുന്നതു്. കാണ്ണിമാറ സ്റ്റീച്ചുകൊണ്ടും ഇനാഗറേഷൻ സ്റ്റീച്ചുകൊണ്ടും മറ്റു പല സ്റ്റീച്ചുകൾകൊണ്ടും ആ പ്രഖ്യാപനത്തിന്റെ ഉദ്ദേശശുദ്ധിയെ വെളിപ്പെടുത്തിയതുകൊണ്ടു് ഞങ്ങൾക്കു് അതിനെ സെമഹാർട്ടമായി സ്വീകരിക്കുവാൻ സാധിച്ചു. മേലിലും ഈ ഭരണപരിഷ്കാരത്തിൽ ദിവാൻജിയവർകൾ ഉദ്ദേശിച്ചിട്ടുള്ളതായ തത്വം, അതായതു് തിരഞ്ഞെടുത്ത കക്ഷിയുടെ പ്രതിപക്ഷമുണ്ടാകുന്ന കക്ഷി ഭരിക്കണം എന്ന ആ തത്വം ഇന്നത്തെ മന്ത്രികക്ഷി സ്ഥാപിക്കണമെന്നു മന്ത്രിയോടും അദ്ദേഹത്തിന്റെ കക്ഷിയോടും ഞാൻ അപേക്ഷിച്ചുകൊള്ളുന്നു. ഇതു് ഞങ്ങൾക്കു ഭരണം കിട്ടണമെന്നുള്ള ഉദ്ദേശത്തോടുകൂടി കൊണ്ടുവന്നിട്ടുള്ളതല്ല. അതിനെപ്പറ്റി ഒരു സംശയത്തിയെ പറയുവാനുള്ളൂ. ഞങ്ങളായാലും നിങ്ങളായാലും വേറെ ആരതന്നെയായാലും കൺവെൻഷൻകൊണ്ടു മാത്രമെന്നുമിന്നു ഹെൽത്തു സ്ഥാപിക്കുവാൻ സാധിക്കുകയുള്ളുവെന്നു എല്ലാവർക്കും അറിയാം. അങ്ങിനെയുള്ള ഒരു ഹെൽത്തു കൺവെൻഷൻ സ്ഥാപിക്കേണ്ടതു് എല്ലാ കക്ഷികളുടേയും ചുമതലയാണു്. ഭരണകക്ഷി അതിനു തയ്യാറുണ്ടെങ്കിൽ ഞങ്ങളും തയ്യാറാണു്. ഞങ്ങൾ ആ ഭാഗത്തുവരികയും നിങ്ങൾ അതിനു തയ്യാറാകുകയും ചെയ്യുയാണെങ്കിൽ ഞങ്ങളും അതുപോലെ തയ്യാറാണെന്നു് തുറന്നുപറഞ്ഞുകൊള്ളുന്നു.

ഞങ്ങൾ ഇന്നലെ ഇവിടെ പ്രവൃത്തിച്ച അന്യായത്തെപ്പറ്റി എന്റെ മാന്യസ്നേഹിതൻ പറയുകണ്ടായി. ഞങ്ങൾക്കു വന്നിട്ടുള്ള ആ തെറ്റിനെ ഞങ്ങൾ ഈ നിയമസഭയുടേയും പൊതുജനങ്ങളുടേയും മുമ്പിൽ ഇവിടെ വെച്ചുകൊള്ളുന്നു. അദ്ദേഹം പറഞ്ഞമാതിരി ആ കൊയിലേഷൻ പോയിന്റു് അതുതന്നെയായിരുന്നു. ഇന്നലെ ഈ അവിശ്വാസപ്രമേയം അവതരിപ്പിക്കുവാൻ അനുവാദം കിട്ടിയതിനുശേഷം എനിക്കു് ശരീരത്തിനു് സുഖമില്ലാതെ തോന്നിയതുകൊണ്ടു് ഞാൻ പുറത്തുപോയി ഇരുന്നിരുന്നു. മിസ്റ്റർ

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അയ്യപ്പനുംകൂടി ഉണ്ടായിരുന്നു. ആ അവസരത്തിൽ ഓപ്പസിറ്റ പാർട്ടിയിൽനിന്നും ഒരു വിപ്പ് എഴുതി സർക്കുലേറ്റ ചെയ്തിരുന്നു. വോട്ടെടുക്കുമ്പോൾ വിളിക്കുമെന്നു വിചാരിച്ചാണ് പോയതു്. അല്ലാതെ വോട്ടെടുക്കുമ്പോൾ അതു് ഒപ്പോസ് ചെയ്യുവെന്നു വരുത്തുവാനായിട്ടല്ല പോയതു്. ഏതെങ്കിലും ഒരു കാര്യത്തിന്നു ഞങ്ങൾ ഒരു വാക്കു കൊടുത്താൽ ആരെയെങ്കിലും ഭയപ്പെട്ടു് അതുപ്രകാരം ഞങ്ങൾ നടക്കാതിരുന്നിട്ടുണ്ടോ, നടക്കാതിരിക്കുമോ എന്നു് ജനങ്ങൾ തീർച്ചയാക്കിയാൽ മതി. ഇതിൽ ഞങ്ങൾ കുറക്കാരാണോ അല്ലയോ എന്നുള്ളതു് ഈ നിയമസഭയും പൊതുജനങ്ങളും തീർച്ചയാക്കട്ടെ. ഞങ്ങൾ ആ വിപ്പ് ഇഷ്യൂ ചെയ്ത അവസരത്തിൽ കബളിപ്പിക്കുവാൻ വേണ്ടി പുറത്തേക്കു പോയതാണെന്നു് തീർച്ചയാക്കുന്നതു ശരിയല്ല. എന്റെ മാന്യസ്നേഹിതൻ മിസ്റ്റർ ഇബ്രാഹിമിനെ ഇവിടെ വിപ്പ് ഇഷ്യൂ ചെയ്ത അവസരത്തിൽ കണ്ടില്ലെന്നാണു് പറഞ്ഞതു്. മിസ്റ്റർ ഇബ്രാഹിമിനെ ഇതേവരെ പരിചയിച്ചിട്ടുള്ള എതൊരാളും അദ്ദേഹം മനഃപൂർവ്വമായി പ്രവൃത്തിച്ചതല്ലെന്നു മനസ്സിലാക്കുന്നതാണു്. വാസ്തവത്തിൽ അബദ്ധം വന്നുപോയിട്ടുള്ളതാണു്. എന്റെ സ്വന്തനിലയിൽ അല്ല, ഈ കക്ഷിയിൽപെട്ടവരോടു ചോദിച്ചിട്ടാണു് ഞാൻ പുറത്തേക്കു പോയതും. എന്നെ വിളിക്കുമെന്നുള്ള ഉത്തമ വിശ്വാസത്തോടുകൂടി ഇരുന്നതുകൊണ്ടുള്ള ഒരബദ്ധമാകയാൽ അതിനു് ആ കക്ഷിയിലെ ഓരോ അംഗങ്ങളോടും നേരിട്ടു് ക്ഷമിക്കണമെന്നു് അപേക്ഷിക്കുകയും യോഗംകൂടി വൈകുന്നേരം അവരെല്ലാം ഇരിക്കുന്ന അവസരത്തിൽ എനിക്കു വന്നിട്ടുള്ള സ്വൂ തെറ്റുകളും ക്ഷമിക്കണമെന്നു് പ്രത്യേകം അപേക്ഷിക്കുകയും ചെയ്തു. ഒരു തെറ്റു വന്നാൽ ക്ഷമിക്കുക അല്ലെങ്കിൽ ശിക്ഷിക്കുക ഇതു രണ്ടിലൊന്നാണു് വേണ്ടതു്. ആ തരത്തിൽ ക്ഷമിക്കാവുന്ന വിധത്തിലുള്ള ഒരു ശിക്ഷ വിധിക്കുമെന്നു ഞാൻ വിശ്വസിക്കുന്നു. ഇന്നു് ഇവിടെ ഉണ്ടായിട്ടുള്ള സംഗതികളിൽ എന്നെപ്പോലെ സന്തോഷിക്കുന്നവർ വേറെ ആരുമുണ്ടായിരിക്കയില്ല. കൊയിലേഷൻകൊണ്ടുള്ള അപകടത്തെ സംബന്ധിച്ചു് ടിവാൻജിയവർകളും ഞാനുംകൂടി സംസാരിച്ച അവസരത്തിൽ ഈ വക സംഗതികളെല്ലാം എന്നോടു പറഞ്ഞു ബോദ്ധ്യപ്പെടുത്തി. ഈവക കാര്യങ്ങളിൽ അദ്ദേഹത്തെപ്പോലെ തഴക്കവും പഴക്കവും എനിക്കില്ലാത്തതുകൊണ്ടു് ഞാൻ അതു് അത്ര കാര്യമായി വിചാരിച്ചില്ല. ഞാൻ അദ്ദേഹത്തോടു് ഇങ്ങിനെയുള്ള കാര്യങ്ങളിൽ ഞങ്ങൾ യോജിച്ചു് കഴിഞ്ഞുകൊള്ളാമെന്നു പറഞ്ഞതു് വളരെ അബദ്ധമായിപ്പോയി എന്നു് എനിക്കു് ഇപ്പോൾ തോന്നുന്നുണ്ടു്. ഭിന്നാഭിപ്രായത്തോടുകൂടിയ രണ്ടു കക്ഷികൾ യോജിക്കുന്ന അവസരങ്ങളിൽ ഈവക കുഴപ്പങ്ങളെല്ലാം ഉണ്ടാകുമെന്നു് അദ്ദേഹത്തിനു കാണുവാൻ സാധിച്ചു. എനിക്കതു കാണുവാൻ കഴിഞ്ഞില്ല. മേലാൽ ഞാൻ അദ്ദേഹത്തിന്റെ ഉപദേശങ്ങളെ ശിരസാവഹിച്ചു നടന്നുകൊള്ളാമെന്നു് ടിവാൻജിയവർകളോടു് ഉറപ്പു പറഞ്ഞുകൊള്ളുന്നു.

എനിക്കു വന്നിട്ടുള്ള തെറ്റിനെ ഒരു പാർട്ടിനേതാവെന്നുള്ള നിലയിൽ ക്ഷമിക്കുമെന്നുള്ള ബോദ്ധ്യം എനിക്കുണ്ടായിരുന്നു. നാം വായനസമയത്തു് ഞങ്ങൾ ബില്ലിനെ എതിർക്കാനെന്നു പറഞ്ഞതിനെ സന്മനസ്സോടുകൂടി സ്വീകരിക്കുവാനുള്ള സന്ദർഭം ഉണ്ടായിട്ടില്ലല്ലൊ എന്നു വിചാരിച്ചു് വളരെ സങ്കടം തോന്നുന്നുണ്ടു്. ഞങ്ങൾ തമ്മിൽ ഒരു കൊയിലേഷനു പുറപ്പെട്ടു് അതു് ഈ തരത്തിൽ അവസാനിച്ചതിനെപ്പറ്റിയുള്ള സങ്കടം മാത്രമേയുള്ളൂ. ഇങ്ങിനെ ഇവിടെ ഒരു അവിശ്വാസപ്രമേയം കൊണ്ടുവന്നതു് ഞങ്ങളുടെ മനഃപൂർവ്വമാ

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ണെന്നു് ആരും കണക്കാക്കരുതു്. ഇതു കൊണ്ടുവന്നതുകൊണ്ടു് മന്ത്രിപദം ഞങ്ങൾക്കു കിട്ടീട്ടില്ല. ഇതു് മന്ത്രിക്കും ഞങ്ങൾക്കും കായ്ക്കുംതുറന്നുപറയുവാനുള്ള ഒരു സന്ദർഭം ഉണ്ടാക്കിയെന്നു മാത്രമേയുള്ളൂ. മന്ത്രിയുടെ കായ്ത്തിൽ ഞങ്ങൾ പറയുന്ന സംഗതികൾ അനാവശ്യമാണെങ്കിൽ മന്ത്രിക്കു് അതു ശരിയല്ലെന്നു പൊതുജനങ്ങളെ ബോദ്ധ്യപ്പെടുത്തുവാനും, മന്ത്രിയുടെ പ്രവർത്തനങ്ങളെ സംബന്ധിച്ചു് പൊതുജനങ്ങളുടെയിടയിൽ ഒരു റിപ്പോർട്ട് സമർപ്പിക്കുവാനുംവേണ്ടി ഈ അവിശ്വാസപ്രമേയം ഇവിടെ അവതരിപ്പിക്കുവാൻ അവസരം തന്നതിൽ ഞാൻ വളരെ നന്ദിപറഞ്ഞുകൊള്ളുന്നു.

Mr. M. K. Devassy *(Adur)*: We have absolutely no case that Mr. Nayar has deceived us or anything of that sort. I wish to make it clear. This is a complaint on account of the hitches of coalition. We are helpless.

Mr. President: We do not accuse you of anything.

മിസ്റ്റർ ടി. കെ. നായർ: ഞാൻ ശരിക്കുള്ള സംഗതികൾ ഇവിടെ പറഞ്ഞുമനസ്സിലാക്കിക്കഴിഞ്ഞു. കൂടുതലായിട്ടു് ഒന്നും പറയുവാനില്ല.

Mr. M. K. Devassy *(Adur)*: We could not understand how the Deputy Leader could sit neutral, Mr. Moothedan could sit neutral and Mr. Ibrahim sit neutral.

Mr. President: If the Leader of the opposition makes a statement you must take it as true.

മിസ്റ്റർ ടി. കെ. നായർ: ഉണ്ടായിട്ടുള്ള സംഭവം അതാണു്. തെറ്റു ചെയ്യാത്ത സംഗതിക്കു മാപ്പു ചോദിക്കുവാൻ നിവൃത്തിയില്ല. മനഃപൂർവ്വമായിട്ടു് പറഞ്ഞ വാക്കിനെ തെറ്റിക്കണമെന്നു് ഞാൻ ഇതുവരെ എന്റെ ജന്മത്തിൽ ഉദ്ദേശിച്ചിട്ടില്ല. അങ്ങിനെ ഉദ്ദേശിക്കാതെ കഴിക്കണമെന്നു എനിക്കു പ്രാർത്ഥനയുണ്ടു്.

ഇന്നേവരെ മന്ത്രി ഈ നിയമസഭയിൽ കൊണ്ടുവരാതെ വല്ല പ്രവൃത്തികളും രാജ്യക്ഷേമത്തിനു വേണ്ടി ചെയ്തിട്ടുണ്ടെങ്കിൽ അതു ജനങ്ങളുടെ മുമ്പിൽ സമർപ്പിക്കുവാനുള്ള ഒരവസരമാണിതു്. പലതും ഇപ്പോൾ ചെയ്യുന്നതായിട്ടു് മിസ്റ്റർ സേലം പറയുകയുണ്ടായി. അതു് ഞങ്ങളാരും അറിഞ്ഞിട്ടില്ല.

മിസ്റ്റർ എ. ബി. സേലം: ഞാൻ കണ്ടതാണല്ലോ.

മിസ്റ്റർ ടി. കെ. നായർ: എനിക്കറിവില്ല. അതിനു വേണ്ടി ഒരവസരം ഉണ്ടാക്കിയെന്നല്ലാതെ മന്ത്രിയെ പിടിച്ചു് കീഴ്പോട്ടിട്ടു് ചവിട്ടിത്തേക്കുവാനാണെന്നുള്ള വിചാരത്തോടുകൂടി എലക്ഷനു് കണ്ടുവരാവുള്ള പിടിയും വലിയും നടത്തി ശത്രുതയുണ്ടാക്കുവാനാണു് ഇതുകൊണ്ടു വന്നിട്ടുള്ളതെന്നു് ആരും ധരിക്കരുതു്. അതുകൊണ്ടു് ഇതേസ്സിരിട്ടതന്നെ മറുകക്ഷികളും എടുക്കുമെന്നു ഞാൻ വിശ്വസിക്കുന്നു.

മിസ്റ്റർ പി. ഗോവിന്ദമേനോൻ: ഈ നിയമസഭയിൽ ഇതു് രണ്ടാമത്തെ അവിശ്വാസപ്രമേയമാണു്. ഇപ്രകാരം ഒരു അവിശ്വാസപ്രമേയം കൊണ്ടുവന്നു് മന്ത്രിക്കും മന്ത്രിസഭയിലെ കക്ഷികൾക്കും പറയുവാനുള്ളതു് ഈ

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നിയമസഭ മുമ്പാകെ ക്രമമായി പറയുന്നതിന്നു് അവസരം തന്നതിനു് എന്റെ സ്നേഹിതൻ മിസ്റ്റർ നായരോടും,—അദ്ദേഹത്തിന്റെ ആജ്ഞാനുസരണമാണെന്നു് ഞാൻ വിചാരിക്കുന്നു—ഈ പ്രമേയം അവതരിപ്പിച്ച മിസ്റ്റർ പൈലിയോടും ഉള്ള കൃതജ്ഞതയെ ഞാൻ ആദ്യമായി പ്രസ്താവിച്ചുകൊള്ളുന്നു.

മിസ്റ്റർ പൈലി പറഞ്ഞതുപോലെ, ഈ അവിശ്വാസപ്രമേയമാകുന്ന കാറു് നമ്മുടെ രാഷ്ട്രീയാന്തരീക്ഷത്തിൽ എതാനും ദിവസമായിട്ടു് തിങ്ങിക്കൂടിയിരിക്കയാണു്. അഞ്ചെട്ടു ദിവസമായി അവിശ്വാസപ്രമേയമാകുന്ന കാറു് പെയ്യാത്തതുകൊണ്ടുള്ള ഉഷ്ണം അവിശ്വാസപ്രമേയത്തെ അവതരിപ്പിക്കുവാൻ ഉദ്ദേശിച്ചിരുന്ന ആളുകൾക്കും അതിനെ എതിർക്കുവാൻ ഉദ്ദേശിച്ചിരുന്ന ആളുകൾക്കും ഒരുപോലെ അസഹ്യമായിരുന്നുവെന്നാണു് ഞാൻ വിചാരിക്കുന്നതു്. അവിശ്വാസപ്രമേയത്തിന്റെ ഇടി ആകാശത്തിന്റെ നാലുഭാഗത്തും മുഴങ്ങിക്കൊണ്ടിരുന്നു. അതിന്റെ മഴവില്ലും ചില ഭാഗങ്ങളിലെല്ലാം കാണുകയുണ്ടായി. ഈ അവിശ്വാസപ്രമേയമാകുന്ന കാറു് ഇവിടെ ര ഉ മിന്നിട്ടു നേരം പെയ്തതിന്റെ ശേഷം അതിൽനിന്നു എത്ര തുള്ളി വെള്ളം താഴത്തു വീണു എന്നു് ഞാൻ ജിജ്ഞാസയോടുകൂടി നോക്കിക്കൊണ്ടിരിക്കുകയാണു്. ഈ അവിശ്വാസപ്രമേയം അവതരിപ്പിച്ചുകൊണ്ടു് മിസ്റ്റർ പൈലി ഈ നിയമസഭയിൽ പ്രസ്താവിച്ച ഭാഗങ്ങളിൽ എനിക്കു കാണുവാൻ സാധിച്ച ചില സംഗതികൾകൊണ്ടുതന്നെ മന്ത്രിയുടെ പേരിൽ ഉള്ള വിശ്വാസം രേഖപ്പെടുത്തുവാൻ മതിയാകുമെന്നാണു് ഞാൻ വിശ്വസിക്കുന്നതു്. ഈ അവിശ്വാസപ്രമേയത്തോടു് അനുകൂലിച്ചു്, പ്ലാൻ ഇല്ല, സ്കീം ഇല്ല, ഗ്രാമീണരുടെയിടയിൽ ദാരിദ്ര്യവും തൊഴിലില്ലായ്മയും സങ്കടവും മൻപടിപോലെ തുടർന്നുകൊണ്ടിരിക്കുന്നു എന്നു പറയുന്നതു് അവിശ്വാസപ്രമേയത്തിന്റെ ഇടിവെട്ടലാണു്. അതിൽനിന്നു് എത്ര തുള്ളി വെള്ളം വീണുവെന്നു പറയുവാൻ സാധിക്കയില്ല. അതിൽനിന്നു് എന്തെല്ലാം കാര്യങ്ങളാണു് അദ്ദേഹത്തിനു് എടുത്തുപറയുവാൻ സാധിച്ചിട്ടുള്ളതെന്നു് പറയുവാനുള്ള ചുമതലയാണു് എനിക്കുള്ളതു്. നാലു പ്രത്യേകസംഗതികളാണു് മിസ്റ്റർ പൈലി അദ്ദേഹത്തിന്റെ പ്രസംഗത്തിൽ എടുത്തുകാണിച്ചിട്ടുള്ളതു്. അതെന്തെല്ലാമെന്നുവെച്ചാൽ (ഛ) പഞ്ചായത്തു നോമിനേഷൻ. ഈ സംഗതി എടുത്തുപറയുവാൻ ഞാനുദ്ദേശിക്കുന്നതിന്റെ കാരണം മിസ്റ്റർ ടി. കെ. നായർ അദ്ദേഹത്തിന്റെ പ്രസംഗത്തിൽ ഈ അവിശ്വാസപ്രമേയത്തിൽ അടങ്ങിട്ടുള്ള സംഗതികളെപ്പറ്റി പറഞ്ഞതിനു് ഒരു മറുപടി പറയുവാനും കൂടിയാണു്. പഞ്ചായത്തുനോമിനേഷൻ കാര്യത്തിൽ പലവിധത്തിലുള്ള അന്യായങ്ങളും നടക്കുന്നുണ്ടെന്നു് മിസ്റ്റർ പൈലി ഇവിടെ സൂചിപ്പിച്ചു. ഈ കാര്യത്തെക്കുറിച്ചു് മുന്നൊരവസരത്തിൽ എനിക്കു് ഈ സഭയെ ധരിപ്പിക്കുവാൻ സന്ദർഭമുണ്ടായപ്പോൾ പറഞ്ഞതുപോലെതന്നെ ഇപ്പോഴും പറയുന്നു. ഒന്നുകിൽ നോമിനേഷൻ സമ്പ്രദായം വേണ്ടെന്നു വെക്കുക; ഈ സഭയിൽ ആരെങ്കിലും നോമിനേഷൻ സമ്പ്രദായം വേണ്ടെന്നു പറഞ്ഞാൽ നോമിനേഷൻ സമ്പ്രദായംകൊണ്ടു് ഗുണം കിട്ടുന്ന താല്പര്യക്കാർ അതിനെതിരായി വാദിക്കും. നോമിനേഷൻ സമ്പ്രദായം തുടർന്നുകൊണ്ടുപോകുകയാണെങ്കിൽ ഇപ്പോഴത്തെ മന്ത്രിയായാലും വേറെ ഒരു കക്ഷിയിൽപെട്ട ആളായാലും ആരുക്കു വേണമെങ്കിലും ആക്ഷേപിക്കുവാനുള്ള സൌകര്യം ഉണ്ടാകുമെന്നുള്ളതു് നിസ്സംശയമാണു്. നോമിനേഷൻ സമ്പ്രദായം മന്ത്രിയുടെ പേരിൽ വീണ്ടും വീണ്ടും ആക്ഷേപം വരുവാനുള്ള ഒരു വഴിയാണു്. എത്ര നിഷ്പക്ഷവാദിയായ ഒരാൾതന്നെ നോമിനേഷൻ നടത്തിയാലും അതിൽ അപ്രാപ്തിയും അക്രമവും ഉണ്ടെന്നു പറയുവാൻ സാധിക്കും. മന്ത്രിയുടെ പേ

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രിൽ കൊണ്ടുവന്നിട്ടുള്ള അവിശ്വാസപ്രമേയത്തിനു നോമിനേഷൻ കാര്യത്തിൽ മിസ്റ്റർ പൈലി കൊണ്ടുവന്നിരിക്കുന്ന കുറ്റത്തിൽവിവരങ്ങളിലൊന്നാണ് പതിവയസ്സിൽ കവിഞ്ഞു പത്രികയാത്ത ഒരു സ്ത്രീയെ നോമിനേറ്റ ചെയ്തതും തുടർന്നു മൻസീഫ് അവർക്കും വിധിക്കുകയും ചെയ്തതു് ഇതൊരു കാരണമായി ഇവിടെ പറഞ്ഞതിൽ ഞാൻ അതിശയിക്കുന്നു. മന്ത്രി അവർകൾ ഒരു വക്കീലല്ലെന്നോ, നിയമജ്ഞനല്ലെന്നോ, അദ്ദേഹത്തിന്റെ അഭിപ്രായത്തോടു് മുൻസീഫ് അവർകൾ യോജിച്ചില്ലെന്നോ മാത്രമേ അതിനർത്ഥമുള്ളൂ. ഇതു് അവിശ്വാസപ്രമേയത്തിനു് പറയാവുന്ന മതിയായ ഒരു കാരണമല്ല. പിന്നീടു പറഞ്ഞതായ ഒരു സംഗതി കായലോരങ്ങളിലുള്ള പ്രദേശങ്ങളിൽ ഉപ്പുവെള്ളമാണെന്നാണു്. മിസ്റ്റർ പൈലി അവതരിപ്പിച്ചിട്ടുള്ള അവിശ്വാസപ്രമേയത്തിനു പറഞ്ഞിട്ടുള്ള വിഷയങ്ങളിലേക്കു കടന്നാൽ രണ്ടാമതായി കാണുന്നതു കായലോരങ്ങളിലെ കുഴികളിലും കുളങ്ങളിലും ഉപ്പുവെള്ളമാണു്, ശുദ്ധജലമല്ല എന്നുള്ള കാരണംകൊണ്ടു് ഈ സഭയിൽ ബഹുമാനപ്പെട്ട മന്ത്രിയുടെ പേരിൽ വിശ്വാസമില്ല എന്നാണോ അദ്ദേഹം വാദിക്കുന്നതെന്നു് തോന്നിപ്പോകും. അതിനെക്കുറിച്ചു് ഇതിൽ കൂടുതലൊന്നും പറയുവാനില്ല. ഇതാണു് ഇവിടെ പൊയ്ത രണ്ടാമത്തെ മഴത്തുള്ളി. പിന്നീടു് അദ്ദേഹം പറഞ്ഞതു് വില്ലേജു ലൈബ്രറികളെക്കുറിച്ചാണു്. വില്ലേജു ലൈബ്രറികളെക്കുറിച്ചു് എന്താണു് അദ്ദേഹം ആക്ഷേപിച്ചതെന്നു് എനിക്കു മനസ്സിലായില്ല. പണ്ടത്തെ വില്ലേജു ലൈബ്രറികളുടെ സമ്പ്രദായം മാറ്റി പുതിയ ലൈബ്രറികൾ നടപ്പിൽ വരുത്തിയതു് ഏതാനും മാസങ്ങൾക്കു മുമ്പാണു്. മിസ്റ്റർ സേലം വിചാരിക്കുന്നതുപോലെ കൊല്ലങ്ങൾക്കു മുമ്പല്ല. വില്ലേജു ലൈബ്രറികൾക്കു പുസ്തകങ്ങൾ അയച്ചുകൊടുത്തു കഴിഞ്ഞിട്ടു രണ്ടു മൂന്നു മാസത്തിലധികമായിട്ടില്ല. അവിശ്വാസപ്രമേയത്തിനു പറഞ്ഞ കാരണങ്ങളിൽ ഇതും ഒന്നായി പറഞ്ഞതു കാരണങ്ങളുടെ ദാരിദ്ര്യംകൊണ്ടാണെന്നു ഞാൻ വിചാരിക്കുന്നു. അവസാനമായി പറഞ്ഞതു ടെയ്ൻ കൈൻസിൽ ബില്ലിനെക്കുറിച്ചാണു്. ടെയ്ൻ കൈൻസിൽ ബിൽ ഈ നിയമസഭയിൽ അവതരിപ്പിച്ചതിനുശേഷം എന്റെ സ്നേഹിതൻ മിസ്റ്റർ ദേവസ്സിയും മിസ്റ്റർ സുബ്രഹ്മണ്യയ്യരും അവരുടെ പാർട്ടിയിൽപെട്ട മറ്റാളുകളും തുടരെത്തുടരെ ശക്തിയായി അതിനെ എതിർക്കുകയുണ്ടായി. ആ ബില്ലിനോടു് അവർ പ്രകടിപ്പിക്കുന്ന എതിർപ്പിന്റെ ആത്മാർത്ഥതയിൽ ഞാൻ വിശ്വസിക്കുന്നതിനോടൊപ്പംതന്നെ അവർക്കവരുടെ അഭിപ്രായങ്ങളെ മാറ്റി ആ ബില്ലിന്റെ ഗുണമേറിയ വശങ്ങളെ കാണുവാനുള്ള സന്മനസ്സുണ്ടാകുമെന്നും ഞാൻ വിശ്വസിക്കുന്നു. ഈ അവിശ്വാസപ്രമേയത്തിന്റെ അടിസ്ഥാനമായി സ്റ്റേറ്റു് കോൺഗ്രസ്സിലെ ഒരംശമായ മിസ്റ്റർ പൈലി ഈ ടെയ്ൻ കൈൻസിൽ ബില്ലിന്റെ കാര്യങ്ങളെക്കുറിച്ചു പറഞ്ഞുകേട്ടപ്പോൾ എനിക്കു അത്ഭുതമാണു് തോന്നിയതു്. ഈ ബില്ലിന്റെ കാര്യത്തിൽ ഉണ്ടായ പ്രോഗ്രസീവു് പാർട്ടി അംഗങ്ങളുടെ ശക്തിയായ എതിർപ്പിനുശേഷവും ഈ നിയമസഭയിലെ അനുദ്യോഗസ്ഥ ഭൂരിപക്ഷത്തിന്റെ അഭിപ്രായത്തോടൊട്ടുടി സിലക്ടു് കമ്മിറ്റിക്കയച്ച ഒരു ബില്ലാണിതു്. സിലക്ടു് കമ്മിറ്റിയിലെ ഒരു മെമ്പറും സ്റ്റേറ്റു് കോൺഗ്രസിലെ ഒരംഗവുമായ മിസ്റ്റർ എ. ഈശ്വരമേനോൻതന്നെ ഈ ബില്ലിനു് സർവ്വപ്രധാനമായ ആനുകൂല്യം പ്രദർശിപ്പിച്ചിട്ടുണ്ടു്. മാത്രമല്ല സ്റ്റേറ്റു് കോൺഗ്രസിലെ ഒരു പ്രമുഖാംഗമായ മിസ്റ്റർ അയ്യപ്പൻ അദ്ദേഹത്തിന്റെ പത്രത്തിൽ ഈ ബില്ലിനെ സംബന്ധിച്ചു ഒരു ഗംഭീരമായ മുഖപ്രസംഗം എഴുതീട്ടുള്ളതു വായിക്കുവാൻ എനിക്കു സംഗതിയായിട്ടുണ്ടു്. (ഹീയർ, ഹീയർ) സ്റ്റേറ്റു് കോൺഗ്രസ് പാർട്ടി

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നേതാവായ മിസ്റ്റർ ടി. കെ. നായർ ഈ ബില്ല് സിലക്ട് കമ്മിറ്റിക്കു് അയച്ച അവസരത്തിൽ നൂടലായി നിന്നതല്ലാതെ എതുത്തിട്ടില്ല. ഇന്നലെ ഈ ബിൽ വോട്ടിനിട്ട അവസരത്തിൽ ആ പാർട്ടിയിലെ ഒരംഗമായ മിസ്റ്റർ ഇബ്രാഹിം ഈ ബില്ലിനോടു് അനുകൂല്യം പ്രകടിപ്പിച്ചു കഴിഞ്ഞിട്ടുണ്ടു്. ഇതെല്ലാം നോക്കുമ്പോൾ ടെഴൺ കെഴൺസിൽ ബിൽ സ്റ്റേറു് കോൺഗ്രസിൽപെട്ട അംഗങ്ങൾക്കെല്ലാം ഒരുപോലെ തൃപ്തികരമായ ഒന്നാണെന്നുള്ളതു് നിസ്സംശയമാണു്. ആ നിലക്കു് ടെഴൺ കെഴൺസിൽ ബിൽ ഈ അവിശ്വാസപ്രമേയത്തിനു് കാരണമായിട്ടു കൊണ്ടുവന്നതിൽ ഞാൻ അത്ഭുതപ്പെടുന്നു. ഇങ്ങിനെയുള്ള തൃപ്തികരമായ നിയമംപോലും നടപ്പിൽ വരുത്തുവാനുള്ള ശ്രമത്തെ പാർട്ടിയുടെ പ്രാബല്യത്തിനുവേണ്ടി എതിരായി പ്രയോഗിക്കുകയാണെങ്കിൽ ഈ ഉത്തരവാദിത്വ ഭരണത്തിന്റെ ഫലം എന്തായിരിക്കുമെന്നു് ഞാൻ എന്റെ മാന്യ സ്നേഹിതന്മാരോടു് ചോദിച്ചുകൊള്ളുന്നു. പ്രോഗ്രസീവു് പാർട്ടിയിലെ അംഗങ്ങളുടെ എതിർപ്പിനെക്കുറിച്ചല്ല ഞാൻ പറയുന്നതു്. ഈ കാരണംകൊണ്ടു് എന്റെ പാർട്ടിയിൽനിന്നു മൂന്നു മാന്യസ്നേഹിതന്മാർ ഞങ്ങൾക്കു നഷ്ടപ്പെട്ടിട്ടുണ്ടു്. ആ വിഷയത്തെ അടിസ്ഥാനമാക്കി അവർ ഒരു അവിശ്വാസപ്രമേയം കൊണ്ടുവരികയാണെങ്കിൽ അതു യഥാർത്ഥമായ നിലയിലുള്ള ഒരു അവിശ്വാസപ്രമേയമാകുമായിരുന്നു. ഇപ്പോൾ മിസ്റ്റർ പൈലി ടെഴൺ കെഴൺസിൽ ബിൽ ഈ അവിശ്വാസ പ്രമേയത്തിനു് ഒരു കാരണമായിട്ടു കൊണ്ടുവരുമ്പോൾ ഈ ബില്ലിന്റെ എതിർപ്പിൽ അദ്ദേഹത്തിന്റെ പാർട്ടിയിൽപെട്ട മിക്ക ആളുകൾക്കും ആത്മാർത്ഥതയില്ലെന്നു വെളിപ്പെടുന്നില്ലേ? ആ സ്ഥിതിക്കു് ഈ അവിശ്വാസപ്രമേയത്തിൽ ആത്മാർത്ഥതയുണ്ടെന്നു് ഞങ്ങൾ എങ്ങിനെ വിശ്വസിക്കും? ഈ അവിശ്വാസപ്രമേയം കേവലം വാദപ്രതിവാദത്തിനുവേണ്ടി മാത്രമാണു് കൊണ്ടുവന്നിട്ടുള്ളതെന്നു് എന്റെ സ്നേഹിതൻ മിസ്റ്റർ ടി. കെ. നായർ പ്രസ്താവിച്ചതിനെ ഞാൻ എന്റെ സവ്വശക്തികളും ഉപയോഗിച്ചു്..... .....

മിസ്റ്റർ ടി. കെ. നായർ: ഞാൻ തുറന്നു പറയുകയുണ്ടായി അനുകൂല്യം കിട്ടുകയാണെങ്കിൽ മന്ത്രിപദം കിട്ടുകയാണെങ്കിൽതന്നെയും സ്വീകരിക്കുവാൻ തയ്യാറാണെന്നു്, അതിനുശേഷമാണു് എനിക്കു സ്വബോധം വന്നതെന്നും ഞാൻ പറഞ്ഞു. പറഞ്ഞതു മറക്കരുതു്.

മിസ്റ്റർ പി. ഗോവിന്ദമേനോൻ: ഞാൻ ഈ നിയമസഭയെ ഓർമ്മിപ്പിച്ചുകൊള്ളുന്നു. ഈ അവിശ്വാസപ്രമേയത്തിനു് പറഞ്ഞതായ കാരണങ്ങൾ ഒന്നും മന്ത്രിയോടു അവിശ്വാസമുണ്ടായിട്ടല്ല, ചിലതെല്ലാം സംഖ്യാബലത്തിനും, ചിലതെല്ലാം പാർട്ടിയുടെ ഗുണത്തിനും, ചിലതെല്ലാം എതിർപ്പിനും, ചിലതെല്ലാം മന്ത്രിപദം കിട്ടുവാൻ തരമുണ്ടെങ്കിൽ അതിനും വേണ്ടിയാണെന്നുള്ളതു് വോട്ടു ചെയ്യുന്ന അവസരത്തിൽ നിഷ്പക്ഷവാദികളായ ആളുകൾ ഓർത്തു വോട്ടു ചെയ്യണമെന്നു ഞാൻ അപേക്ഷിക്കുന്നു. പഞ്ചായത്തു് നോമിനേഷൻ തെറ്റാണെന്നു ഫ ഠ പേർ അവിടേയും തെറ്റല്ല ശരിയാണെന്നു് ഫ ഠ പേർ ഇവിടേയും പറയുകയാണെങ്കിൽ അവരവരുടെ കാര്യം അവരവർ പറയുന്നു എന്നു് തോന്നിപ്പോകുവാൻ ഇടയുണ്ടു്. പ്രത്യക്ഷത്തിൽ വിശ്വസിക്കാവുന്ന ലക്ഷ്യങ്ങൾ കാണുവാൻ സാധിച്ചില്ലെങ്കിൽ ഈ അവിശ്വാസപ്രമേയം വിശ്വസിക്കാവുന്ന ഒരു പ്രമേയമല്ലെന്നു് ഞാൻ ഉൽബോധിപ്പിച്ചുകൊ

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മല്ലന്നു. ഇതിൽ കൂടുതലായ യാതൊന്നും അദ്ദേഹത്തിന്റെ പ്രമേയത്തിനു് കാരണങ്ങളായി അദ്ദേഹം കൊണ്ടുവന്നിട്ടില്ല. അദ്ദേഹത്തിന്റെ പ്രസംഗത്തിൽ ഏപ്രിൽ ഫൂൾസ്-ഡെയെക്കുറിച്ചു് പ്രസ്താവിക്കുകയുണ്ടായി. എന്തു വാശ്യത്തിനാണു് അദ്ദേഹം അതു് പ്രസ്താവിച്ചതെന്നു് എനിക്കു് മനസ്സിലായില്ല. എന്നാൽ അവിശ്വാസപ്രമേയത്തെപ്പറ്റി അദ്ദേഹത്തിന്റെ പ്രസംഗം കേട്ടു കഴിഞ്ഞപ്പോൾ—ഇന്നു് മിസ്റ്റർ പൈലിയുടെ ദിവസമാണല്ലോ—ഇന്നാണൊ ആ പറഞ്ഞ ദിവസം എന്നു് ഞാൻ വിചാരിച്ചുപോയി!

Mr. President: I think the discussion can be resumed in the afternoon. I shall be present in the afternoon. The House stands adjourned to half past two.

The House rose for lunch at 1 p.m. and re-assembled at 2-30 p.m. with the Hon'ble the President in the Chair.

Mr. Shabdai S. Koder *(Nominated):* Mr. President, Sir, I very carefully listened to the speech of the hon'ble mover of the no-confidence motion, but I confess, Sir, that I have failed to see that any charge has been made to warrant a no-confidence motion. My friend Mr. Pylee said that the Hon'ble Minister has no scheme. To my mind, Sir, as a practical businessman, to formulate a scheme after studying for some time the conditions of the rural parts is much better than a ready made scheme without definite knowledge of the conditions of our rural parts. The second policy will always end in disaster. The next charge was with reference to some of the nominations made by the Hon'ble Minister. Mr. Pylee wanted to know whether the Hon'ble Minister would accept Rs. 24—2—0 in place of Rs. 25 which he had borrowed. In these days when there is a cry that borrowed money need not be repaid especially by the members of the opposition, I think he is a fool who does not receive Rs. 24—2—0 in place of Rs. 25 which he has lent.

Mr. V. K. Krishnankutty *(Ezhuvas-Trichur):* Very practical!

Mr. Shabdai S. Koder *(Nominated):* A Jew is always practical. The next charge was with regard to the passing of the Town Councils Bill. When I listened to the various arguments advanced by the hon'ble members of the opposition it struck me that those arguments were the same arguments advanced by some of us—members of the mercantile community when the Income-tax Bill or any other Bill that affects our trade is before the House. We have argued in the same way. We have stated that we would be ruined. Our business will collapse and so on and so forth. But the members of the Government as well as the hon'ble members of the opposition have always ignored our cries with the result that the tax has been imposed and we are paying it and our trade is carried on.

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So if this Bill is imposed, I am sure in course of time the Bill would be found to be a very useful measure. Sir, as there is no definite charge made against the Minister, I have to oppose this motion. Before I conclude this speech, I wish to say a word or two with regard to the position of the nominated members. The hon'ble leader of the State Congress Party appealed to the members of the party in power to establish a convention by ignoring us or by not enlisting our support. I wish to make it clear that we have the same rights and we enjoy the same privileges as the elected members of this House. *(Hear, hear)*. We are not going to vote by the dictates of either party. There is a wrong impression, Sir, that because we are nominated, our votes depend upon the whip of the Government. I may categorically assert, Sir, that the Government in this instance or any other instance has never issued a whip to us and even if they issue such a whip, we will ignore it and vote as we like. *(Hear, hear)*. There are no constituencies for certain minority communities and interests and hence some of us are nominated to represent such interests. I am nominated because my constituency was deliberately robbed. I wish also to point out to the Hon'ble leader of the State Congress Party that in the late Congress Ministry at Madras there was a Minister who was a nominated member in the person of Dr. Rajan. Therefore I appeal to the Government and also to you, Sir, to amend our Act so that the Ministership may be open to the nominated members also. *(Hear, hear)*.

മിസ്റ്റർ സി. വി. ഇയ്യു: മിസ്റ്റർ പ്രസിഡണ്ടു സർ, ഒന്നാമതായി ഈ അവിശ്വാസപ്രമേയത്തെക്കുറിച്ചു് വല്ലതും പറയാൻ പുറപ്പെട്ടതിനു മുമ്പു് ഇന്നു കാലത്തു നമ്മുടെ നിയമസഭയിലെ അംഗങ്ങളുടെ തുറന്ന മനസ്ഥിതിയേയും മഹാമനസ്കതയേയും അഭിനന്ദിക്കാതിരിക്കാൻ നിവൃത്തിയില്ല. കക്ഷിസംബന്ധമായ കാര്യങ്ങളെക്കുറിച്ചോ, സംഘടിത കക്ഷികളെ സംബന്ധിക്കുന്ന കാര്യങ്ങളെക്കുറിച്ചോ തുറന്നുപറയുന്ന മനസ്ഥിതി കാണിച്ചതിൽ, ഏതാണ്ടു കുസ്യാനികളിൽ ചില പ്രത്യേക വകുപ്പുകാർ വളരെ രഹസ്യമായി ചെയ്യേണ്ട ദോഷകർമ്മങ്ങൾ പരസ്യമായി ഒരു യോഗത്തിൽവെച്ചു് ഏറ്റുപറയുന്ന മാതിരി പരമാത്മാവും ഏടയംഗമവും മനോഹരവുമായ രീതിയിൽ ഇവിടെ തുറന്നുസംസാരിച്ചതിൽ എനിക്കതിയായ ചാരിതാർത്ഥ്യമുണ്ടു്. ഇങ്ങനെയുള്ള സഹോദരന്മാരോടു സഹകരിച്ചു പ്രവൃത്തിക്കുന്നതിനു് ഈ നിയമസഭയിലേക്കു തിരഞ്ഞെടുക്കപ്പെട്ടു വരുവാൻ സാധിച്ചതിൽ ഞാൻ എന്നെത്തന്നെ അഭിനന്ദിക്കുന്നു.

ഈ ചരിത്രപ്രസിദ്ധമായ അവസരത്തിൽ ബഹുമാനപ്പെട്ട ഡോക്ടർ എ. ആർ. മേനോൻ അവർകളോടു, വ്യക്തിപരമായി എനിക്കുള്ള ബഹുമാനത്തെ, ഈ പ്രമേയാവതാരകൻ വെളിപ്പെടുത്തിയതിനോടുകൂടി ഞാനും യോജിക്കുന്നു.

അടുത്ത സമയംവരെ ഫ്രഞ്ചുപ്രധാനമന്ത്രിയായിരുന്ന എം. ഡെലേഡിയർ രാജിവെക്കുന്നതിനുണ്ടായ കാരണങ്ങൾ നമ്മളെല്ലാവരും പത്രത്തിൽ വാ

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യിച്ചിട്ടുള്ള സംഗതിയാണ്. ഈ അവിശ്വാസപ്രമേയം യഥാർത്ഥത്തിൽ ഒരു ദ്യോഗികനിലയിൽ ബഹുമാനപ്പെട്ട മന്ത്രിയെ ആ സ്ഥാനത്തുനിന്നു നീക്കുന്നതിനു് പര്യാപ്തമല്ലെന്നവന്നാൽതന്നെ കൊച്ചിൻ സ്റ്റേറ്റ് കോൺഗ്രസ്സ് പാർട്ടിയിൽ നിന്നു് അവതരിപ്പിച്ചിട്ടുള്ള ഈ അവിശ്വാസപ്രമേയത്തിന്റെ തത്വത്തോടും താല്പര്യത്തോടും പ്രോഗ്രസീവ് പാർട്ടിയും യോജിക്കുന്നുണ്ടെന്നു് അതിന്റെ നേതാവു് ഇവിടെ പറയുകയുണ്ടായി. ഇതുകൂടി ആലോചിച്ചുനോക്കുമ്പോൾ തിരഞ്ഞെടുക്കപ്പെട്ട ഭൂരിപക്ഷം മെമ്പർമാർ ബഹുമാനപ്പെട്ട മന്ത്രിയുടെ അഭിപ്രായങ്ങൾക്കും ആദർശങ്ങൾക്കും വിരോധികളാണെന്നു പ്രത്യക്ഷമായിക്കഴിഞ്ഞു. ഇതിനെല്ലാംപുറമെ, ബഹുമാനപ്പെട്ട മന്ത്രിയുടെ പേരിൽ ഉള്ള അവിശ്വാസപ്രമേയത്തെ അവതരിപ്പിച്ചുകൊണ്ടു് അവതാരകൻ പറഞ്ഞിട്ടുള്ള ഓരോ കാര്യങ്ങളിൽ യാതൊന്നിനെക്കുറിച്ചും പ്രോഗ്രസീവ് പാർട്ടി നേതാവു് വിരോധം പറഞ്ഞിട്ടില്ല. ബഹുമാനപ്പെട്ട മന്ത്രിയെ ആ സ്ഥാനത്തുനിന്നു നീക്കുന്നതിനുവേണ്ടി അവതരിപ്പിച്ചിട്ടുള്ള അവിശ്വാസപ്രമേയത്തെ സംബന്ധിച്ചു് ഇന്നു നിഷ്പക്ഷനില അവലംബിച്ചിട്ടുള്ള പ്രോഗ്രസ്സീവ് പാർട്ടി ഡിപ്യൂട്ടി നേതാവു പറഞ്ഞിട്ടുള്ളതിൽനിന്നും മന്ത്രിയോടു വിയോജിച്ചുതന്നെയാണു് അവരുടെ നിലയെന്നു വന്നിട്ടുണ്ടു്. ഫ്രാൻസിലെ പ്രധാനമന്ത്രിയായിരുന്ന ബഹുമാനപ്പെട്ട ഡെലേഡിയർ ചെയ്കകാണിച്ച മാതൃകയെ സ്വീകരിച്ചു നമ്മുടെ ബഹുമാനപ്പെട്ട മന്ത്രിയും സ്ഥാനം രാജിവെച്ചു് ഒരു Healthy conventionന്റെ മാതൃക സ്ഥാപിക്കേണമെന്നാണു ഞാൻ പറയുന്നതു്. അതിനുശേഷം മറേതെങ്കിലും കക്ഷിയിൽനിന്നു് ആരെങ്കിലും ആ സ്ഥാനം സ്വീകരിക്കാതെവരുന്നപക്ഷം ആ സ്ഥാനം വീണ്ടും അദ്ദേഹം സ്വീകരിക്കുകയായിരിക്കും അദ്ദേഹത്തിനു് അഭിമാനകരം. സ്റ്റേറ്റ് കോൺഗ്രസ്സ് പാർട്ടി നേതാവു പറഞ്ഞ രീതിയിലല്ല, അതിലും ആദർശപരമായ ഒരു (Healthy convention) ഉണ്ടാക്കണമെന്നാണു ഞാൻ ബഹുമാനപ്പെട്ട മന്ത്രിയോടഭ്യർത്ഥിക്കുന്നതു്. പ്രോഗ്രസീവ് മെമ്പർമാരെ സംബന്ധിച്ചു പറയുകയാണെങ്കിൽ, അവരെക്കാളും ഭേദപ്പെട്ട ഒരു ഘടനയെ ബഹുമാനിക്കേണ്ട ചുമതല തിരഞ്ഞെടുക്കപ്പെട്ട മെമ്പർമാർക്കാണധികം. നമ്മുടെ ബഹുമാനപ്പെട്ട ദിവാൻജി അവർകളും ഭരണപരിഷ്കാരത്തെക്കുറിച്ചു പലേടത്തും പ്രസംഗിച്ചിട്ടുള്ളതിൽനിന്നുള്ള ഒരു വാചകത്തെ വേണമെങ്കിൽ ഞാൻ ഇവിടെ എടുത്തുവായിക്കാം. അതിൽ പ്രത്യേകമായിച്ചുമതലയുള്ളതായി പറഞ്ഞിട്ടുള്ളതു തിരഞ്ഞെടുക്കപ്പെട്ട മെമ്പർമാർക്കാണു്. അങ്ങിനെയുള്ള ആളുകളുടെ ഭൂരിപക്ഷത്തിൽനിന്നാണു് മന്ത്രിയെ നിയമിച്ചിരിക്കുന്നതു്. ഭരണപരിഷ്കാര പ്രഖ്യാപനത്തിന്റെ ആരംഭഘട്ടത്തിൽ ബഹുമാനപ്പെട്ട മന്ത്രിയും, ബഹുമാനപ്പെട്ട മുഖ്യമന്ത്രിക്കാവു് മെമ്പറും, ബഹുമാനപ്പെട്ട ചെയർമാൻ മെമ്പറും, ചെയ്തിട്ടുള്ള പ്രസ്താവനകളിൽ നമുക്കു ഭൂതമായിട്ടുള്ള ഭരണപരിഷ്കാരം വളരെ യാഥാർത്ഥ്യത്തോടുകൂടിയതാണെന്ന വിശദമാക്കിട്ടുണ്ടു്. ആ വാക്കുകളുടെ അർത്ഥം ശരിയായി സ്ഥാപിക്കുന്നതിനു് എത്രത്തോളം ജനാധിപത്യതത്വത്തെ പുലർത്തി പ്രവർത്തിക്കാമൊ അത്രത്തോളം പ്രവർത്തിക്കുന്നതിനുള്ള ഒരുപാരമ്പര്യം ഉളവാക്കത്തക്ക Healthy convention നിർമ്മിച്ചു ഇപ്പോഴത്തെ ഭരണപരിഷ്കാരത്തിന്റെ തുടർച്ചയായി മേലിൽ വരാൻപോകുന്നകൂടുതൽ ഭരണപരിഷ്കാരത്തിന്റെ മാന്യതയും അഭിവൃദ്ധിയും കൂടുതൽ ഫ്രഞ്ച് പ്രീമിയറെ അനുകരിച്ചു ഇവിടെ ഇന്നു ഒരു ചരിത്രം നിർമ്മിക്കണമെന്നു് ഞാൻ ബഹുമാനപ്പെട്ട മന്ത്രിയോടപേക്ഷിക്കുന്നു. ഗവർമ്മെണ്ടുദ്യോഗസ്ഥന്മാരും നോമിനേറ്റഡ് മെമ്പർമാരുംകൂടി ബഹുമാനപ്പെട്ട മന്ത്രിയെ അനുകൂലിച്ചു എന്നുവെച്ചു് നിരവധിവോട്ടുകൾ ഉണ്ടാക്കിയാൽത്ത

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ന്നെ ബഹുമാനപ്പെട്ട മന്ത്രിക്കു് രാജിവക്കുന്നതിനു് എന്താണു് വിരോധം? തിരഞ്ഞെടുക്കപ്പെട്ട ജനപ്രതിനിധികളോടുകൂടി സഹകരിച്ചു് ആദ്ധ്യപരമായ ജനാധിപത്യത്തിന്റെ പാരമ്പര്യം സ്ഥാപിക്കണമെന്നുണ്ടെങ്കിൽ എന്റെ ഈ വിനീതാഭിപ്രായത്തോടു യോജിക്കുകയേ മാർഗ്ഗാന്തരമുള്ളു എന്നു മാത്രം പറഞ്ഞു.

മിസ്റ്റർ എ. ബി. സേലം: ഞങ്ങൾ യോജിക്കുന്നില്ല.

മിസ്റ്റർ സി. വി. ഇയ്യു: എന്റെ അഭിപ്രായം പറഞ്ഞു എന്നുമാത്രമേയുള്ളു. ഇനി എനിക്കു് ടൗൺകൗൺസിലിൽ ബില്ലിനെക്കുറിച്ചുമാത്രമാണു് പറയാനുള്ളതു്. ടൗൺ കൗൺസിൽ ബില്ലിനെ പ്രോഗ്രസ്സീവു് പാർട്ടി, അവരുടെ രാഷ്ട്രീയ തന്ത്രമാക്കി എടുത്തതിൽ എനിക്കു് അവരോടു് അതിയായ കൃതാർത്ഥതയുണ്ടു്. ഈ ആവശ്യത്തിനുവേണ്ടി മാത്രം ടൗൺ കൗൺസിൽ ബില്ലിനെ എടുക്കുന്നതിനുവേണ്ടി തന്നെ എന്റെ നിയോജക മണ്ഡലത്തിൽ പെട്ട കുന്നുകളം പട്ടണത്തിൽവെച്ചു് പ്രോഗ്രസ്സീവു് പാർട്ടിനേതാക്കന്മാർ അവിടത്തെ കച്ചവടസംഘത്തിന്റെ അഭിമുഖ്യത്തിൽ അവിടത്തെ പൌരജനങ്ങളുടെ ഒരു യോഗം കൂടുകയും ഈ ബില്ലിനെ എടുക്കണമെന്നു് ആ യോഗത്തിൽ തീർപ്പുയാക്കിയതനുസരിച്ചു് എനിക്കു് Mandate കിട്ടുകയും ഉണ്ടായി. ഞാൻ ഒരു നിയോജകമണ്ഡലത്തെ പ്രതിനിധീകരിക്കുന്ന ആളെന്ന നിലയിൽ എനിക്കു് ഈ ബില്ലിനെ എടുക്കാതെ നിവൃത്തിയില്ല. ഇന്നു തന്നെ ഈ ബിൽ നടപ്പിൽ വരാതെ, ഒരു കൊല്ലത്തേക്കു് നീണ്ടുകിട്ടുകയാണെങ്കിൽ ഈ താല്കാലത്തിനു് അത്രയും കാലം കഷ്ടപ്പെടാതെ കഴിയുമല്ലൊ എന്നു വിചാരിക്കുന്ന എന്റെ നിയോജകമണ്ഡലത്തിൽപെട്ട പട്ടണത്തിലെ ആളുകളോടു എനിക്കുള്ള ചുമതലാബോധം കൊണ്ടാണു" ഇങ്ങനെ ഒരു ബിൽ ആവശ്യമില്ലെന്നു ഞാൻ പറയുന്നതു്. ഈ ബില്ലിന്റെ അനാവശ്യം എനിക്കു് ബോദ്ധ്യപ്പെട്ടിരിക്കെ, ഈ ബിൽ നടപ്പിൽ വരാതിരിക്കാൻ എന്തൊക്കെ ചെയ്യണമൊ അതൊക്കെ ചെയ്യേൻ ചുമതലപ്പെട്ട ഞാൻ ഈ കാര്യത്തിൽ പ്രോഗ്രസ്സീവു" പാർട്ടിയോടനുകൂലിക്കേണ്ടതു് എന്റെ കർത്തവ്യമായി കരുതി. എന്നാൽ അവരുടെ അഭിപ്രായങ്ങളിൽ ഒരു സംഗതിയോടു മാത്രം യോജിക്കുവാൻ എനിക്കു നിവൃത്തിയില്ല. സംഗതിവശാൽ ഈ ബിൽ നിയമമായിവന്നാൽ തന്നെ, അതു് നടപ്പിൽ വരുത്താതിരിക്കാനായി, ബഹുമാനപ്പെട്ട മന്ത്രിയുടെ മേൽ അവതരിപ്പിച്ചിട്ടുള്ള അവിശ്വാസപ്രമേയത്തോടു് പ്രോഗ്രസ്സീവു" പാർട്ടി യോജിച്ചു വോട്ടു ചെയ്യണ്ടതായിരുന്നതെഴിച്ചു് ബാക്കിയുള്ള കാര്യങ്ങളിൽ ഞാൻ അവരോടു് യോജിച്ച അഭിപ്രായക്കാരനാണു്. എല്ലാവരും അവരവരുടെ കക്ഷിയുടെ നിലയിൽ അഭിപ്രായം തുറന്നു പറഞ്ഞിട്ടുള്ളതുകൊണ്ടു് ഞാൻ എന്റെ സ്വന്തം നിലയിൽ എന്റെ അഭിപ്രായം തുറന്നു പറഞ്ഞുകൊണ്ടു് സ്റ്റേറ്റു് കൊൺഗ്രസ്സു് പാർട്ടിയിൽ നിന്നും അവതരിപ്പിച്ച ഈ അവിശ്വാസപ്രമേയത്തെ അനുകൂലിക്കുന്നതു ടൗൺകൌൺസിൽ ബില്ലിനോടും കൂടിയുള്ള എന്റെ പ്രതിഷേധത്തെകൂടി രേഖപ്പെടുത്തുന്നതാണു് എന്നുകൂടി കരുതണമെന്നു ഞാൻ ഈ സഭയോടപേക്ഷിക്കുന്നു.

മിസ്റ്റർ ഇസ്മായിൽ ഹാജി ഇബ്രാഹിംസേട്ട: മിസ്റ്റർ പ്രസിഡണ്ടു് സർ, ഈ സഭ ആരംഭിച്ചതിനുശേഷം ബഹുമാനപ്പെട്ട മന്ത്രിയെ കുറിച്ചു് ഇതു് രണ്ടാമത്തെ അവിശ്വാസപ്രമേയമായിട്ടാണു് എനിക്കു തോന്നുന്നതു്. ഇതിനുമുമ്പും ഒരവിശ്വാസപ്രമേയം ഈ സഭയുടെ മുമ്പാകെ കൊണ്ടുവരികയും എന്നാൽ അന്നു് മന്ത്രിയുടെ പ്രവർത്തനങ്ങളെക്കുറിച്ചു് ഒന്നും ചൂണ്ടിക്കാണിക്കാതെ മൊ

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ത്തമായി ചിലകാര്യങ്ങൾ മാത്രം ശ്രദ്ധിക്കരിച്ചുകൊണ്ട് ചില പ്രസംഗങ്ങൾ ചെയ്ത് ആ അവിശ്വാസപ്രമേയം വോട്ടിനിട്ട് തള്ളിപ്പിടുകയും ചെയ്തിട്ടുള്ള സംഗതി ഈ സഭയിലെ എല്ലാമെമ്പർമാർക്കും അറിവുള്ളതാണ്. എന്നാൽ ഇന്ന് മന്ത്രിയുടെ മേൽ കുറെങ്ങൾ ശ്രദ്ധിക്കരിച്ചുകൊണ്ടുള്ള ചില സംഗതികൾ മിസ്റ്റർ പൈലി ഇവിടെ പ്രസ്താവിച്ചതിൽനിന്ന് എനിക്ക് മനസ്സിലായിട്ടുള്ളത് പൊതുജനങ്ങളുടെ ആവലാതിയോ സങ്കടമോ മന്ത്രിയെ കുറിച്ച് അദ്ദേഹത്തിന്റെ അടുക്കൽ വന്നിട്ടുണ്ടോ എന്ന സംശയിക്കേണ്ടിയിരിക്കുന്നു എന്നാണ്. അദ്ദേഹം ഈ പ്രമേയത്തിൽ ചില സംഗതികൾ പറഞ്ഞിട്ടുള്ളതിൽ പ്രധാനമായ ഒന്ന് വല്ലാർപാടം മുതലായ ടിക്കുകളിൽ വെള്ളം സപ്ലൈ ശരിയായി നടത്തുന്നില്ല എന്നുള്ളതാണ്. ഈ സംഗതി അദ്ദേഹത്തിന്റെ ബഡ്ജറ്റ് പ്രസംഗത്തിലും ഞാൻ കേൾക്കുകയുണ്ടായി. ഈവക സംഗതികൾ ബഹുമാനപ്പെട്ട മന്ത്രി പ്രവൃത്തിക്കുന്നില്ലെന്നും അതോടൊപ്പം ചില നോമിനേഷനെക്കുറിച്ചും ആ നോമിനേഷൻ സംബന്ധിച്ചുള്ള വ്യയസ്സിന്റെ തക്കത്തെക്കുറിച്ചും ഉള്ള കുറ്റാരോപണങ്ങളാണ് ഇവിടെ പ്രസ്താവിച്ചിട്ടുള്ളത്. ഈവക സംഗതികൾ കൊണ്ട് മന്ത്രിയുടെ മേൽ അവിശ്വാസം സ്ഥാപിച്ച് അദ്ദേഹത്തെ മന്ത്രിസ്ഥാനത്തു നിന്ന് നീക്കാമെന്ന ധരിച്ചിട്ടുണ്ടെങ്കിൽ അത് തീരെ തെറ്റിപ്പോയെന്നാണ് എന്റെ വിശ്വാസം. മിസ്റ്റർ സേലം പറഞ്ഞകൂട്ടത്തിൽ മന്ത്രിസ്ഥാനമേറ്റിട്ട് ഒന്നിൽചിലപ്പോൾ കൊല്ലമേ ആയിട്ടുള്ളൂ. ഈ കാലത്തിനുള്ളിൽ ഗവൺമെണ്ടിൽ നിന്നാണെങ്കിൽ മന്ത്രിക്ക് ചിലവു ചെയ്യുന്നതിനു കഴിഞ്ഞകൊല്ലം അനുവദിച്ച സംഖ്യയേക്കാൾ കൂടുതൽ സംഖ്യയാണ് ഇക്കൊല്ലവും അനുവദിച്ചിട്ടുള്ളത്. ഈ വക സംഖ്യകൾകൊണ്ട് പൊതുജനങ്ങളുടെ ഹിതത്തിനായി എന്തെങ്കിലും പ്രവൃത്തിക്കുന്നതിനു ഒരവസരം കൊടുക്കുന്നതിനുമുമ്പ് അദ്ദേഹത്തിന്റെ മേൽ നിസ്സാരമായ കുറ്റങ്ങൾ ശ്രദ്ധിക്കരിച്ച് നമ്മുടെ സ്റ്റേറിനകത്തും പുറത്തും തെറ്റിദ്ധാരണകൾ ഉണ്ടാക്കത്തക്കവിധം ഇങ്ങിനെ ഒരവിശ്വാസപ്രമേയം കൊണ്ടുവരത്തക്കനിലയിൽ ഇവിടെയാരെങ്കിലുമുണ്ടായിട്ടില്ല. ഉണ്ടാകാൻ സംഗതിയുമില്ല. സ്റ്റേറ് കോൺഗ്രസ്സ് പാർട്ടി ലീഡർ മിസ്റ്റർ ടി. കെ. നായർ ഇവിടെ പ്രസ്താവിച്ച സംഗതികൾ കൊണ്ടുതന്നെ ആകക്ഷിക്കാർക്ക് ഇതിന്റെ സംഗതികൾ മുഴുവനും മനസ്സിലായിട്ടുണ്ട്. അതിൽ ചിലതു അദ്ദേഹത്തിനു ബോദ്ധ്യമായിട്ടുള്ളതു അദ്ദേഹം ഇവിടെ തുറന്നുപറയുകയും ചെയ്തു. വാസ്തവം പറയുകയാണെങ്കിൽ പാർട്ടി മെമ്പർമാർ ഈ അവിശ്വാസപ്രമേയം കൊണ്ടുവരാൻ അദ്ദേഹത്തോടു യോജിച്ചതും അവസാനം ഇത്തരത്തിൽ വന്നുകൂടിയതും അദ്ദേഹം വെളിപ്പെടുത്തിയതിൽനിന്നു അദ്ദേഹത്തിന്റെ ഹൃദയശുദ്ധി എത്രത്തോളമുണ്ടെന്ന് നമുക്ക് മനസ്സിലാക്കാവുന്നതാണ്. അദ്ദേഹം ഇതിനെ അനുകൂലിച്ചിരുന്നുവെങ്കിൽ മിസ്റ്റർ പൈലി തന്റെ ഉള്ളിൽ തിങ്ങിവിങ്ങിക്കൊണ്ട് ഇവിടെ ചൂണ്ടിക്കാണിച്ച സംഗതികളെപ്പറ്റി എന്തെങ്കിലും പ്രസ്താവിക്കുമായിരുന്നു.

മിസ്റ്റർ ടി. കെ. നായർ : അവിശ്വാസപ്രമേയത്തിന് എതിരായിട്ട് ഞാൻ ഒന്നും പറഞ്ഞിട്ടില്ല.

മിസ്റ്റർ ഇസ്മായിൽ ഹാജി ഇബ്രാഹിംസേട്ട് : മന്ത്രിയിൽ വിശ്വാസം ഇല്ലേ ?

മിസ്റ്റർ ടി. കെ. നായർ : എനിക്ക് മന്ത്രിയിൽ വിശ്വാസമുണ്ടെന്നു പറഞ്ഞിട്ടില്ല. വിശ്വാസമില്ല.

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മിസ്റ്റർ ഇസ്മായിൽ ഹാജി ഇസ്സാസേട്ട് : മേലിലെങ്കിലും ഈ പാർട്ടിക്കാർ ഇതുപോലെ ഒരു അവിശ്വാസപ്രമേയം കൊണ്ടുവരുന്ന സംഗതിയിൽ കുറച്ചു ശ്രദ്ധിക്കണമെന്നാണ് എനിക്ക് അവരോടു പറയുവാനുള്ളതു്. മന്ത്രിയെക്കുറിച്ചു എപ്പോഴും അവിശ്വാസപ്രമേയം വന്നുകൊണ്ടിരിക്കുന്നതുകൊണ്ടു് അതിൽ ഉള്ള വാസ്തവം എതുതരത്തിൽ ആയിരുന്നാലും പുറമെ കേൾക്കുമ്പോൾ അതു് ചീത്ത അർത്ഥത്തിലാണു് പുറത്തുള്ള ആളുകൾ മനസ്സിലാക്കുന്നതു്. അതുകൊണ്ടു് മേലിൽ ഇപ്രകാരം കാര്യത്തിൽ വളരെ ആലോചിച്ചുപ്രവൃത്തിക്കണമെന്നു എതിർകക്ഷിയോടു അപേക്ഷിച്ചുകൊണ്ടും ഈ അവിശ്വാസപ്രമേയത്തെ എതിർത്തുകൊണ്ടും ഞാൻ എന്റെ പ്രസംഗം അവസാനിപ്പിച്ചുകൊള്ളുന്നു.

*Dr. A. R. Menon *(Minister for Rural Development)*: Mr. President, I am very grateful to the mover of this motion, for the very graceful terms in which he made a reference to me. I am thankful to him for presenting this motion in a friendly spirit, and I also wish to thank the various members who took part in this discussion for the very good temper they have maintained and the very careful and cautious way in which they directed their attack towards the departments under me and myself. I shall try my best to follow the healthy example placed before me by the previous speakers, and I shall endeavour as far as possible to meet all the charges enumerated by the mover of this resolution. But many of those charges have already been replied to by other speakers, and I do not desire to traverse the whole ground and give replies in detail. I hear of a lot of conventions, today, and the leader of the opposition himself appeals to establish a convention. I shall also ask the opposition to establish a convention that, before bringing in a vote of censure, they should formulate the serious and grave charges either of commission or of omission. I do not, Sir, entirely agree with the interpretation given by them to the meaning of a vote of censure. I certainly have the greatest respect to those who gave a description of the meaning of a vote of censure, namely that it is only to give a chance to the Minister to proclaim to the world what all things he has done and also to refute the charges brought against him. There is another element in this vote of censure, a sense of humiliation, which I confess to you honestly, I felt yesterday. I have not taken this vote of censure as an ordinary routine business to elicit information, but as a kind of punishment to the departments. Before you enter into these things, there should be a spirit of moderation. There should be a deep consideration of the charges that you wish to bring forward against the Minister, and you must also look into those charges, to

* Speech not corrected by the hon'ble member.

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see whether the gravity of the charges compels you to bring a motion like this. A vote of censure must be more or less a compulsory duty rather than a pleasure to any member of this House. After all, who is this Minister? The Minister is one of you who has been working along with you, fighting with you since the inception of this very Council, and you have had ample opportunities to know the person. And it is only in extreme cases, when a compelling sense of duty compels you to bring forward a motion of this kind, I submit, that you will be justified in bringing a measure of this kind. I shall therefore, with your leave, enter into the various charges framed and brought forward so eloquently and so reasonably and in such a mild language by the mover of this resolution.

The first is that the progress made in the various departments entrusted to the care of the Minister, is so slow, like a snail, that the Minister deserves censure. Everyone who understands the various problems that face the administration of these departments will realise that it is bound to be very slow, when you are dealing with problems of this kind. Here are problems which are not circumscribed, which have not been dealt with in a serious manner before; here are problems which concern distant parts of the villages, where even Legislative Council Members visit only during the election time. When we have to deal with problems of this kind in distant places, even to set in motion an idea will take a very long time, and it is not proper to say that your pace is slow and your progress is unsatisfactory. I shall be very happy and thank myself if any endeavour or any attempt that I have made this day will bear fruit 20 years hence. I do not expect to reap the fruits of my own labour during this period, and we are as a matter of fact enjoying the fruits of the labour of those who have gone from amidst us. Therefore to say that your pace is very slow, that you are idling away your time, is a charge which cannot be sustained by any means whatsoever.

Another charge brought forward against me is that wherever you go you make promises, liberal, and you do not carry the promises into effect. Just study the psychology. When legitimate requests are made to you, and when you see that those requests deserve your consideration, immediately the answer would be "to the best of my ability I shall see whatever I can do for you". It is not fair to say that this is an attempt simply to give empty promises without the intention to do it. I assure this House in many cases those promises have been translated into action, consistently with the financial situation of the Government. I can enumerate any number of instances where those promises have been translated into action, and I hold

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letters conveying thanks and congratulations from the villagers of the State for having carried out what I have promised. It is also true that all such promises have not been translated into action, owing to financial stringency. I heard the Learned Professor saying "spend the money forthwith, demand more money from the Government, the Government have got unlimited resources". Is it true? This House which deals with the budget of the Government do know the financial situation of our Government. Certainly, fortunately, we are able not only to balance the budget but to have a little reserve. But then, this little reserve may be required at a time of stress and strain owing to the war conditions, and would it be wise, would it be statesmanlike, to spend all the money, anticipating that more money will come hereafter? Apart from that, is there such a surplus that we may go and demand from the treasury to give lakhs and lakhs of rupees? For I blindly tell you, if you really want rural reconstruction as you imagine in your mind, it will require lakhs and lakhs of rupees. Every village will require somewhere about Rs. 30 to 50 thousand, to meet all the requirements of that village. Therefore, I appeal to the House to have a sense of proportion in matters of this kind, and consider whether, with the money given, proper works have been undertaken, and moneys are properly utilised. I shall certainly look into any matter where public money has been wasted, and I shall either apologise to this House or rectify the mistake, if public moneys were wasted. But because moneys are not available, certain works could not be done—that should not be a charge against the department.

Sir, the second point is about Panchayats. When I was only a non-official member—an elected member, sitting in this House, I used to hear the same charges against the department, so much so that I once intervened and I made this declaration that even if there are angels to come down from heaven to make these nominations, still these charges of partiality will be levelled against the person who does these nominations. It is inevitable that people will be discontented, that the nomination will create discontent in the mind of the people. When A, B or C applies for nomination, if A alone is aken, naturally B and C would resent the idea that either of them is not nominated. I will give you the list as a test. I will give the list to the Professor as a test, to nominate 3 or 4 members, and if he does that nomination, I shall carry out the nominations according to his directions, and if these nominations did not create the same trouble, then I shall come forward in this House and tender an apology to this House, by saying that the nominations have gone astray. Are you willing to accept the challenge?

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Mr. L. M. Pylee *(Latin Christians-Ernakulam):* That must be considered.

Dr. A. R. Menon *(Minister for Rural Development):* Please consider. Then there is another charge about the lady member's nomination. What is the trouble? A person is 25 years of age. I am the last person to dispute any decision of the judicial court, and no one has got a greater respect for the judicial machinery of the State than I have. But I am not a lawyer. I use my commonsense—that amount of commonsense which Providence has given me. And I found a person of 25 is a person who has passed the 24th year, and not one who has passed to the 26th year. That is the calculation in the Insurance Companies also. So there is nothing very grave. No disreputed action has been committed here. What is more? I made a reference to the back files of the Panchayats, and to my surprise I found candidates at the age of 24 have been nominated. In the column of nomination papers generally, the ages are not given. It is always presumed that when a person is recommended, that person has passed that age. It is only when the matter was brought to our notice, that I immediately wanted to cancel the nomination, and made a reference to the department concerned. Then I was advised by the highest legal authority in this State, the Advocate General, that my interpretation of the age of 25 years is a correct and proper one, and there was no need to change it. I declare in this House that in all legal matters, I shall be guided by the Advocate General and no one else. I can also declare to the House that in all the legal matters I have never taken any action, without consulting the highest legal authority in the State. But what is the charge? If it is an economic question, and if I make a reference to Professor Pylee and act accordingly, I am justified to say that I have acted on the advice of Professor Pylee, because the Professor knows his subject, and I believe that he is a very competent authority. Would you not justify me even if I committed a mistake. Similarly, the mistake is there. I am in very good company, and the responsibility is shared by others also. That is the second charge.

There is then a serious charge—Water supply. A poor woman is drawing water from the well, and here is a heart-less man standing by and looking at the face of these things without moving a muscle of his face and without even entertaining a feeling of compassion for these wretched poor people. That was the charge. I won't mind preferring a charge, if you sincerely believe in the charge. I am asking the mover of this motion whether the graphic description that he gave is the result of the inactivity of the department? Does he

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believe it for a moment that these conditions would have been changed if we were a little more energetic? Is it a charge?

Mr. L. M. Pylee *(Latin Christians-Ernakulam):* I do not say it is. Are not the Departments concerned taking steps to alleviate the miseries of the poor people?

Dr. A. R. Menon *(Minister for Rural Development):* I am glad you admit that. In order to alleviate these things, measures have been taken—only as experimental measures. That is. tube wells have been sunk.

Mr. L. M. Pylee *(Latin Christians-Ernakulam):* How many tube wells?

Dr. A. R. Menon *(Minister for Rural Development):* About 6 have been sunk.

Mr. L. M. Pylee *(Latin Chaistians-Ernakulam):* In an area of a population of more than thousand!

Dr. A. R. Menon *(Minister for Rural Development):* That is the difficulty. You have misunderstood me. It is not intended for purely drinking purposes. It is to test whether the tube wells will be a success or not. If we succeed, then it will be easy for us to have about 3 or 5 thousands of these wells sunk within 6 months. The person who has done this work has gone out. We are waiting for the summer—this month—to test the water, and if we succeed in getting good water, it is our intention to dig any number of wells in this area. Failing this, we have to consider some other measure. Even the experts in our department are not in a position to advise the Government as to what measures are to be taken to give relief. Sometimes I believe, Sir, ignorance is bliss, and where angels fear to tread, others rush in. This is one of those stories. How easy it is to frame a charge? How difficult to solve that problem? I have explained this difficulty to this House. Therefore you may not say you are ignorant of this difficulty. And I am anxious as anybody else to do something very substantial, to give relief to these people, for, after all, the question is the supply of drinking water. This is the primary consideration of any government, so much so, that in the last year's Panchayat budget, a lion's share of the money has been set apart for providing water for drinking and bathing purposes. Therefore, the House will realise that the departments also are quite conscious of their responsibility; and they are anxious to do their very best to solve this problem, and I assure this House this anxiety will prevail till we find out some means to relieve the distress resulting from water scarcity. Beyond that, I cannot go. The House has no right to expect beyond that.

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Now, Sir, the most contentious point, really the most important point, in the censure motion is the Town Councils Bill,—a point which happily appeals to both the parties alike. A question is asked why this measure, which is unwanted, and introduced without proper consultation, is forced upon the people? Is it a true statement? For the last fifteen years, this Council has been demanding incessantly that more and more power should be given to the Panchayats. Is it your contention that I have given too much power? Certainly, there is some meaning.

Mr. M. K. Devassy *(Adur):* It has been mixed with taxation.

Dr. A. R. Menon *(Minister for Rural Development):* So, you have no objection to extend the powers. Ernakulam and Trichur Municipalities took 40 years to get all the present powers. The only objection taken against this Bill, at the stage of the introduction, was about the taxation. Responsibility and taxation go hand in hand; this is a primary proposition which certainly my friend ought to know, and I am sure he does know.

Mr. M. K. Devassy *(Adur):* I can suggest methods without taxation.

Dr. A. R. Menon *(Minister for Rural Development):* The only thing is somebody else must provide the money. That is the difficulty. Now, what is this money? You are talking about taxation. Tomorrow onwards, Government will clear out of its place, and ask the Hon'ble Leaders of the Towns to look after their own affairs in their own way without giving any financial help. It is not true. As a matter of fact, Government are doing a lot of things to Vadakkancheri and Kunnamkulam, and the House may rest assured that we will devise such methods that the financial implications imposed upon those areas will be made as light as possible.

Mr. V. J. Mathai *(Planters):* Who has got the power to tax?

Dr. A. R. Menon *(Minister for Rural Development):* People, certainly.

Mr. A. Eachara Menon *(Chittur-Rural):* Are the people bound to impose the tax?

Dr. A. R. Menon *(Minister for Rural Development):* Now, what is the history of this Bill? This Bill is the result of the almost unanimous request of this House. Anybody who challenges this statement may do so. I say it is with the almost unanimous request of this House that this Bill was introduced, and the members of this House knew that such a Bill is in preparation, and they also ought

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to know that the introduction of such a measure may mean the introduction of slight taxation.

Mr. C. V. Iyyu *(Kunnamkulam):* It was the Council which was dissolved in 1113—not the present Council—our predecessors, not ourselves.

Dr. A. R. Menon *(Minister for Rural Development):* They are still alive. They are not so old. That Council was as sensible as this Council.

Mr. A. B. Salem *(Mattancheri):* Are there not license fees imposed by the Public Health Department?

Dr. A. R. Menon *(Minister for Rural Development):* Certainly, all these taxes are levied now. I am not going to say that there will be no additional taxation. Certainly, there will be additional taxation. Let the implications be clearly understood. There will be additional taxation. It is inevitable that additional taxation should be resorted to.

Mr. T. V. Subramania Ayyar *(Nemmara):* The thing is, when the people do not want, why impose it upon them?

Dr. A. R. Menon *(Minister for Rural Development):* The thing is, my child does not like castor oil. I take the castor oil and administer it into the child's mouth when it is found necessary. People do not like many things, which they ought to like, and they like many other things which they ought not to like.

Mr. C. V. Iyyu *(Kunnamkulam):* Our fathers have sent us here, and they do not want it.

Dr. A. R. Menon *(Minister for Rural Development):* Then those fathers ought to correct you for objecting to something good to them. If the son does any mischief, it is the duty of the father to hammer him.

What is the history of this measure so brought? It has been vehemently opposed, because people could not have shown more sincerity than you gentlemen have done. And I have appreciated that, and I even now think that it is due to a mistaken notion that you have taken this extreme view of opposition to this measure. That is my view. Just as you sincerely thought that it is injurious to the people, can you not give the credit to me to say that I also thought that it is not to the detriment of the people, and therefore I presented this Bill. Whatever it is, the Bill was passed with a huge majority in the first reading, instead of vehement opposition offered to the measure, and in the second reading, day before yesterday as you all know, 37

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or 38 voted for the measure against a handful of members opposed to it. With regard to that measure, Mr. Ayyappan, than whom there is no one in this State I have greater regard for, in his leading article, concluded by making this pertinent observation, that those who opposed this measure are on the side of the wealthy and rich, and those who support this measure, are the true friends of the poor people. I am willing to stand by that judgment *(Laughter)*. If there is one Editor in the State, he does not oppose it in his paper—I feel that if there is one journalist who has never abused that noble profession it is Mr. Ayyappan.

Mr. C. V. Iyyu *(Kunnamkulam)*: Opinions differ.

Dr. A. R. Menon *(Minister for Rural Development)*: No. If you have half the power that he possesses, I am afraid to think what all things you will do *(Laughter)*. I want to assure this House once more that because of all this opposition and all these criticisms against this Bill, it will be given serious consideration, and suitable modifications will be made, and extreme care will be taken to see that this financial burden to be imposed upon the poor people will be reduced, as far as possible.

Mr. V. J. Mathai *(Planters)*: How many villages will be affected?

Dr. A. R. Menon *(Minister for Rural Development)*: About four or five.

Mr. V. J. Mathai *(Planters)*: How many villages are there in the State?

Dr. A. R. Menon *(Minister for Rural Development)*: 273.

Mr. Puthur Achyuta Menon *(Kattur)*: Where is it stated that it will affect only five villages?

Dr. A. R. Menon *(Minister for Rural Development)*: It is the intention. Any one who comes and sits here will be guided by commonsense. A man must be a fool to go and take an account of the houses in each village. The town presupposes certain things. It conveys an idea. What is a town, we all know. With that picture in the background of your mind, you just go about the Cochin State. You will be able to get the places where this Bill is likely to operate. And those places alone will be included within the towns; not more. Now, Sir, I do not want to enter into the merits of this Bill. It has already been passed, and I am sure, later on, this House will have an occasion to think that this Bill, far from doing any harm to the people, whose cause I am glad to note this House always espouses, has given them the conveniences and the amenities of civilised life, with very little cost to them. Certainly, it will affect

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the merchants of Kunnamkulam, and people like that, who get up meetings of protest against a measure. They do not want to shell out the small portion of the income they earn from the poor people.

About the village Libraries, I will finish with one sentence. There is an amount set apart for this. The amount spent upon the books is the same. I never reduce one pie from this, but the allowances have been reduced, and some petty school masters are on strike. The sum allotted was Rs. 130, Rs. 80 for allowances, Rs. 50 for books. The allowance was reduced to Rs. 25, while the amount for books remains the same. Then what is the complaint? What have I done in charge of the libraries? 75 Libraries have been established. Has the Professor any complaint against this activity?

Now, Sir, these are the main points raised in the speech of my Hon'ble Friend, and I have answered as briefly as I can. I want the House very seriously to realise one convention—that it should be the convention of this House to strengthen my hand, no matter, whether you sit on the opposite side or on the government side. It should be the convention that you should strengthen the hands of the person who sits here, and that you shall not do anything or give encouragement to anybody who wants to undermine the power, the influence and the authority of the Minister. I ask you, gentlemen, to search in your own hearts and tell me whether, may be unknowingly and unwittingly, you have or have not, done anything to lower my prestige and to encourage those who want to question the authority of the Ministry. And I want the House to understand that unless I get that co-operation, that moral support, and the rigid exclusion of any extraneous influences that come to operate upon the Members of this House, I will be helpless and I will be powerless to execute the powers imposed upon me. If I get that moral support, then conditions will be different. I have suffered for a long time on account of this, and with patience which I never possessed before *(laughter)*, which somehow or other I acquired a little, I have put up with these things, days in and days out, and I have told the House at the very beginning what is going to take place. This is not a new thing. I knew the whole thing. When a horse is let loose, galloping and ambling and when it is caught for the first time and the bridle is put into its mouth, it feels restive, it feels surprised, it feels rebellious, it feels aggrieved, and tries to rush with flashing eyes, with foaming mouth and tries to dislodge the rider. Then you apply the spur, and a sensible horse after some time understands that this process of misdeeds followed by spurring is in the long run injurious to the animal itself. But

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there are other types of animals who show their temper the moment you apply the spur, and they become more vicious. They destroy themselves or the rider; either the rider is killed, or the animal is killed.

I know the House has understood from these things what is passing through my mind and I trust most sincerely that the House will realise the responsibility so that the Minister may not be made a subordinate at the beck and call of any one else. I think, Sir, I have explained all these things, and if the House thinks that the charges brought forward are of such a serious nature as would require a censure, I shall be willing to welcome it. Politicians always expect a fall and hope to rise again. And I always expected a fall and hope to rise again. I am not at all frightened by this censure, but I am very anxious that this Council with which we are connected almost from the very inception, should not light-heartedly take to this sort of censure motion, for it may be misunderstood in other places and in other countries as an indication of the failure of the system that has been introduced here. This system of administration requires enormous patience, courage, and also good feeling from this House and its continuous support. And I hope and trust that this warning will have its effect upon this House, or, if you don't follow this, either there will be a figure-head of a Minister to be kicked about by any one who likes to kick him, or there will be no Minister at all, because no honourable man will put up with these things, unless and until he finds that any support is forthcoming from this House. I hope and trust you all have understood the meaning and implication of this sentence. I trust this will have the due effect. I am speaking in all sincerity; unless you also bear in mind these things, it is inevitable that gradually this system will deteriorate.

Mr. T. K. Nayar *(Pazhayannur):* Is it the Minister's contention that this censure motion was backed up by somebody from outside?

Dr. A. R. Menon *(Minister for Rural Development):* I won't say that. I am fully certain that I have not given any cause to any member of this House to prompt him to bring such a motion.

Mr. T. K. Nayar *(Pazhayannur):* Is it a personal reference?

Dr. A. R. Menon *(Minister for Rural Development):* No, administrative. Unfortunately, it is not very easy to distinguish administrative and personal matters. One overlaps the other.

Mr. T. K. Nayar *(Pazhayannur):* Is it not the right of the opposition to bring a motion of no-confidence? Why do you impute motives? It is most uncharitable.

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Dr. A. R. Menon *(Minister for Rural Development):* I gave expression to my feelings. It has been passing through my mind, and I find this was an occasion to give expression to them.

Mr. T. K. Nayar *(Pazhayannur):* It is most uncharitable to impute motives.

Mr. M. K. Devassy *(Adur):* Can we take it that the Hon'ble Minister means that any extraneous influence has been responsible for the introduction of this motion?

Mr. President: I would warn the Minister and the opposition not to spoil the dignified debate by introducing extraneous considerations. I do not think that it was the intention of the Minister to mean that the person who brought this motion did so by the influence of an outsider.

Dr. A. R. Menon *(Minister for Rural Development):* No, Sir.

Mr. President: What he intended to say was unless the popular Minister has the full backing of this Council, extraneous influences will belittle the influence of the Minister.

Dr. A. R. Menon *(Minister for Rural Development):* I wanted to convey certain ideas so that I may have protection at the hands of the House.

Mr. C. V. Iyyu *(Kunnamkulam):* We want to strengthen the position of the Minister.

Mr. President: The best way will be that no one need look to the House for any help when it is a question between himself and anybody else.

മിസ്റ്റർ ടി. കെ. നായർ: ബഹുമാനപ്പെട്ട മന്ത്രിയെ ഞങ്ങൾ അറിയും പോലെ ബഹുമാനപ്പെട്ട മന്ത്രിക്കു ഞങ്ങളേയും അറിയാം. വേറെ ആരുടേയും കെട്ടിൽ പെടുന്നവരല്ല ഞങ്ങൾ എന്നു് അദ്ദേഹത്തിനറിയാമെന്നു വിശ്വസിക്കുന്നു.

Mr. President: It ought to be made clear. How I understood the Minister is, he was speaking about the need for the opposition to consider very carefully before bringing in a motion. They ought not to bring in a motion in a light-hearted manner. If they do that, then it will be helping outside bodies to interfere with opposition.

Mr. L. M. Pylee *(Latin Christians-Ernakulam):* Sir, in virtue of my right of reply I wish to say a few words. Against my motion there have been speakers from the other side and my friend Mr. Salem has replied to some of the points I have raised. Usually of course when arguments are advanced in support of a motion, and

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when it is opposed, it will be contended that there is no substance in the arguments of the mover. That thing has occurred in this debate also. But one point I have against Mr. Salem is that he has entirely distorted the arguments I have put forward. I ask Mr. Salem is he aware of only two extremes? He has represented me as saying that I wanted the Minister to leap like a horse and that he must make the millennium dawn upon our State in an instant. I did not want the horse to leap, to go everywhere blindly and I did not want by the action of the Minister that a millennium should dawn upon our villages. There can be no greater distortion of the arguments I have advanced. It is not such extreme position that I assumed. I said that the present rate of progress is something like that of a snail. By that I did not mean we should jump to the other extreme and from the snail we must go to the horse. One by one my arguments have been coloured by the presumption that they were for the extremes. He says that it is not the fault of the Minister that the water in the littoral tracts is saltish. But, should not we take adequate steps? I do not say that the Minister has not taken any steps? But should we not take adequate steps in view of the great misery existing there?

Another speaker from the Cochin Congress Party, Mr. P. Govinda Menon, spoke against the motion. I am not surprised that he did not find any substance in my arguments. The easiest thing is to say that there is no substance in an opponent's arguments. He was not listening to my arguments, but he was watching for the rains, during this summer, and he did not see any rain, but only a few drops. I am glad that much light has been thrown on the matters under discussion by the very courteous explanation given by the Minister. *(Hear, hear)*. It is, as the leader of the party has remarked, this censor motion has given an opportunity to discuss certain matters upon which there has been so much tension, and at the very outset, in bringing the motion I remarked that the main consideration that induced me to sponsor it was to dispel this tense atmosphere instead of spreading this tension and increasing it daily. I am glad that the explanation given by the Hon'ble Minister has been conducive to dispel that tension very much. But one point I wish to make clear. He presumes that this censor motion has been embarked upon by my party in a light-hearted manner. If there is any thing in that imputation, I beg to assure the members of this House that it was with adequate consideration that the State Congress Party along with the Progressive party decided to bring forward this motion. It was not done in a light-hearted manner. It was done with a full sense of responsibility. Yesterday morning

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when I asked for leave, 21 members stood up. That itself is an indication that there was a considerable section of the House who showed the fact that the confidence in the Minister is at least a little below the normal. Indeed, constitutionally and legally, as the President was glad to explain, a member standing in his seat when leave to introduce a censure motion is sought for does not necessarily mean that he supports the motion itself. But in this instance, when we view the fact of these members standing up together with the statement given by the leader of the Progressive Party, we can understand the real situation. Thus it was not without a sense of responsibility the motion was brought. It was done after due deliberation, after mutual and joint consultation.

On various matters the Minister was pleased to reply. One of them was the question of Panchayats. I brought before the notice of the House certain complaints that are being heard with regard to many of the nominations. It is true that there will be complaints whenever a nomination is made. Still the widespread complaints and dissatisfaction reveal an unhealthy state of affairs. Further, I allude to one point in this connection. I referred to the Council Proceedings 5th series, Volume IV, Part, 8 dated 17th January 1940. In reply to an interpellation, the Minister said "Whoever is the President there must be somebody who knows things and who has the capacity to understand properly and he will be this peculiar Panchayat President. Therefore from the list of nominations the best candidate of the place was selected and nominated". An hon'ble member then asked "May I know if the so-called controller member is returned as the President who will be controlling him". All this reveals an unwholesome state of affairs, namely, that there is a member who controls the President, and that is a nominated member. Is it a desirable state of affairs? I do not wish to speak more on this.

With regard to the question of age of a particular nominee the Hon'ble Minister holds that that was the interpretation of the Advocate General. I am glad that he took the view of the Advocate General. I have nothing more to say on that. If it is the view of the legal luminaries, an ordinary layman cannot say anything against it. Anyway, I am not prepared to admit that 24 and a fraction is equal to 25, even if the Privy Council decides it to be so *(laughter)*.

Regarding the Town Councils Bill, I objected chiefly to the method by which it was brought. That was my main contention. Lastly, the Minister stated that the members should

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rally round him and strengthen his hands. Certainly, every member of this House is prepared to rally round him and strengthen his hands. But by that the Minister should not think that if a no-confidence motion is brought it is undermining the influence or authority of the Minister. That is not the idea of such a motion. A motion like this is brought and thereby the authority or influence of the Minister is not undermined. If one Minister is removed there is another. We are not going to interfere with the authority of the Minister. The question is only whether a particular person has the confidence of the House or not. We look to the Ministerial office with reverence, because it is the first fruit of the new constitution, (*Hear, hear,*), the much longed for gift granted by our benevolent Ruler. That office we will always respect, and anything that will undermine the influence of the Minister we will be the first to oppose and the first to uphold the authority and privileges of that office. Therefore, such an implication should not be taken from this motion. Sir, these are the chief remarks I have to make. One fact has emerged during the discussion. That is, yesterday certain things took place which has changed the situation. That has been explained by the leaders of the parties in opposition. From this it is a forgone conclusion as to what is going to happen to this motion. From the explanations and the statements given by these leaders it is clear that if the motion is lost, it will be due to the strained relations that have come to exist between the two parties after the motion was introduced, and to no other cause.

Motion put and lost.

Mr. T. K. Nayar *(Pazhayannur):* Poll, Sir.

Ayes

Mr. C. V. Iyyu
„ K. Ayyappan
„ T. K. Nayar
„ C. R. Ramakrishnan
„ K. S. Panicker

Mr. M. Govinda Pai
„ C. R. Iyyunni
„ E. Ikkanda Warriar
„ Popatlal Govardhan Lalan
„ Ismail Hajee Essa Sait
„ A. B. Salem
„ T. A. Ramachandra Ayyar
„ P. Govinda Menon
„ K. Kochukunhan Kaimal
„ P. K. Madhava Menon
„ C. Kunjan Namboodiripad

Mr. K. M. Ibrahim
„ T. S. Ramachandra Ayyar
„ L. M. Pylee
„ A. V. Moothedan
„ A. Eachara Menon

Noes

Mr. C. N. Ittiravi Namboodiripad
„ K. Ashtamoorthi Namboodiripad
„ M. Nanu Menon
„ S. S. Koder
„ C. J. Luiz
„ N. V. Subbarayan Chetty
„ V. K. Kutty
„ C. K. S. Moni
„ K. P. Vallon
Mrs. Thankamma N. Menon
„ C. R. Iyyunni

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Neutrals

Dr. A. R. Menon
Mr. K. P. Kannan Nayar
„ K. Achyuta Menon
„ P. J. George
„ M. Sivarama Menon
Dr. T. Verghese
Rao Bahadur M. Narayana Menon
Mr. K. V. Menon
„ T. Narayana Menon
„ V. K. Aravindaksha Menon
„ M. Raman Menon
Rama Varmha Tampuran
Mr. V. J. Mathai
„ A. L. Antony
„ B. M. Peter
„ V. N. Damodaran Nambiar
„ V. K. Bhaskara Menon
„ P. Achyuta Menon
„ T. V. Subramania Ayyar
„ M. K. Devassy
„ K. R. Viswambharan
„ V. K. Krishnankutty
„ M. L. Joseph
„ T. P. Poulose

10 for, 22 against *Neutrals—24*

Mr. President : Before we pass on to the next item on the agenda, I should like to congratulate the House on the very high level of debate that has been maintained in the discussion of this motion. Usually a no-confidence motion in a legislature creates personal animosities and passion, and I think the House should congratulate itself that all unpleasantness has been avoided on this occasion. Personally, I have been listening with very great pleasure to many of the speeches and I have thoroughly enjoyed the scathing criticisms contained in some speeches, the irresistible logic of some speeches and the very refreshing candour of other speeches. As one who has had considerable experience in public life, and who has had to fight many bitter battles, I can give a piece of advice to this House. Public life has many difficulties, and on the whole a career of public life is a thankless job, and in addition to the difficulties of a public man, if there is no spirit of charity amongst the opponents, and base motives are imputed to his actions, it not only makes the life of the individual miserable but degenerates the public life of the State. If really democratic institutions have worked in some countries in the west like France and England, you will find that the underlying cause is the spirit of goodwill and friendship that prevails among the public men. I sincerely hope that, as persons interested in the stability of the constitution and the Government of Cochin, members of this House will endeavour their best to keep up that spirit of goodwill, and always construe the actions of their opponents in a spirit of charity. I have not the slightest doubt in my mind that if that underlying principle is kept in mind, whoever might be the individual that might happen to be the Minister, the constitution will work for the well-being of the people *(Hear, hear)*. The Minister referred to the dangers of frequent no-confidence motions in that disgruntled people outside may take advantage of the situation. There is certainly considerable truth in that.

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But as the Head of the administration, I may also give this assurance that, apart from the duty of this House, to do everything in their power to maintain the prestige and dignity of the Minister, whoever the individual may be, it is and will always be my endeavour as the Head of the administration to maintain his prestige. I think the present Minister and everybody else knows that, when there is the slightest onslought on the Minister, he has the fullest support of His Highness the Maharaja and the Diwan also. *(Hear, hear).* Now we will pass on to the next item in the day's business, *viz.* the Child Marriage Restraint Bill.

The Child Marriage Restraint Bill

മിസ്സിസ്സ് തങ്കമ്മ എൻ. മേനോൻ: സർ, കൊച്ചി ശൈശവവിവാഹ നിരോധനബിൽ ഈ സഭ്മേളനത്തിന്റെ പരിഗണനക്കെടുക്കുന്നതിനു്....

Mr. T. A. Ramachandra Ayyar *(Nellayi):* I rise to a point of order. After the Bill is circulated it must go to a Select Committee unless the President waives the rule. This is not moved for a Select Committee.

Mr. President: I have suspended the Standing Order and I have allowed her to move the motion.

മിസ്സിസ്സ് തങ്കമ്മ എൻ. മേനോൻ: സർ, കൊച്ചി ശൈശവവിവാഹനിരോധന ബിൽ ഈ സഭ്മേളനത്തിന്റെ പരിഗണനക്കെടുക്കുവാനായി അനുമതി നൽകിയതിനു്, ഞാൻ ബഹുമാനപ്പെട്ട പ്രസിഡൻറു് അവർകളോടു് ആദ്യമായിതന്നെ നന്ദിപറഞ്ഞുകൊള്ളട്ടെ. എന്റെ ഈ ബിൽ പൊതുജനാഭിപ്രായത്തിനായി അയച്ചതു് ഏറ്റവും ഉത്തമമായി എന്നമാത്രമെ എനിക്കു് പറയുവാനുള്ളൂ. അഖില കൊച്ചി കുടുംബിസമ്മേളനം എന്റെ ബില്ലിനെ സ്വാഗതം ചെയ്യുന്നു. അതുപോലെതന്നെ ബുദ്ധസാരസ്വത ബ്രാഹ്മണരും എന്റെ ബില്ലിനെ സ്വാഗതം ചെയ്യുന്നു. അടുത്ത അവസരത്തിൽ എറണാകുളത്തുവെച്ചു് ബഹുമാനപ്പെട്ട കൊച്ചികണയന്മാർ ഇരുസഭാമെമ്പർ അവർകളുടെ അദ്ധ്യക്ഷതയിൽ കൂടിയ കൊച്ചി പുലയ മഹാസമ്മേളനത്തിൽവെച്ചു് എന്റെ ബില്ലിനെ പിൻതാങ്ങിക്കൊണ്ടുള്ള പ്രമേയം പാസ്സാക്കിയിരിക്കുന്നു. ഇനി ബ്രാഹ്മണസമുദായത്തിന്റെ അഭിപ്രായത്തെപ്പറ്റിയാണു് എനിക്കു രണ്ടുവാക്കു പറയുവാനുള്ളതു്. നിർബ്ബന്ധ ശൈശവ വിവാഹം കൊണ്ടുള്ള ദോഷങ്ങൾ അനുഭവിച്ചുവരുന്നതു് സ്ത്രീകളാണല്ലൊ. അതുകൊണ്ടു് ആ സമുദായത്തിൽപെട്ട സ്ത്രീകളുടെ അഭിപ്രായത്തെപ്പറ്റി ഞാൻ ആദ്യമായിതന്നെ പറഞ്ഞുകൊള്ളട്ടെ. ആ സമുദായത്തിലുള്ള എല്ലാസ്ത്രീകളും എന്റെ ഈ ബില്ലിനെ സ്വാഗതം ചെയ്തിരിക്കുന്നു എന്നുള്ള സംഗതി ഞാൻ ബഹുമാപ്പെട്ട മെമ്പർമാരുടെ ദൃഷ്ടിയിൽപെടുത്തിക്കൊള്ളുന്നു. സനാതനികളായ ചില ബ്രാഹ്മണർ എത്രതന്നെ ഭഗീരഥപ്രയത്നം ചെയ്തിട്ടും മറ്റൊരു ബ്രാഹ്മണസ്ത്രീയുടെ അഭിപ്രായംപോലും ഈ ബില്ലിനെതിരായി കൊണ്ടുവരുവാൻ സാധിച്ചിട്ടില്ലെന്നുള്ള സംഗതി ഞാൻ ഈ സഭമുമ്പാ

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